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# East Europe Report



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6 MAY 1986

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## STATISTICS RELEASED ON FIRST QUARTER ECONOMIC ACHIEVEMENTS

AU092125 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 8 Apr 86 p 1

["At the 11th SED Congress--National Economy Efficient and Dynamic; Unity of Word and Deed"]

[Text] Berlin (ADN)--In preparation for the 11th SED Congress, the GDR working people in all fields of the national economy have achieved the highest economic performances hitherto in the first quarter of 1986. According to preliminary statistics, the produced national income rose by 4.1 percent by the end of March in comparison with the same period last year. The combines of the industry, construction, transportation, and communications sectors fulfilled their commitment made to Erich Honecker, SED Central Committee general secretary. They achieved an additional production of 1.2 daily outputs. In agriculture the plan targets were also surpassed.

In the industrial ministries sector net production rose by 8.6 percent. The national economic plan was overfulfilled by M823 million. Labor productivity rose by 8.5 percent. Costs were decreased by 2.2 percent. In industrial goods production the plan lead increased to M1.9 billion. The increase amounts to 4.4 percent. The working people of the GDR's coal and energy sector and transportation sector contributed considerably to that. With the support of many helpers from other sectors of the national economy and of members of the GDR Armed Forces, a stable supply of the national economy and the people with coal, electrical energy, gas, and heat was guaranteed under long-lasting extreme winter conditions.

The technological application of scientific-technological results was further accelerated. This applies in particular to the key technologies.

Compared to last year, the production of electronic writing devices increased by 78.2 percent, of monolithically integrated circuits by 28.2 percent, and there was a 3.4-fold increase in glass fiber production. About 5,266 office and personal computers were produced; this is an increase of 83.7 percent compared to last year. About 3,575 industrial robots were produced; this is an increase by 73.8 percent compared to the first quarter of 1985. In preparation for the 11th SED Congress 2,273 CAD/CAM (computer-aided design/computer-aided manufacture) work stations were put into operation.

By March investments of M10 billion were made in the producing sectors of the national economy. The enterprises' production of rationalization means as an important precondition for the efficient introduction of new products and technologies increased by 23.6 percent compared to last year.

The unity of the economic and social policy for the benefit of the people was continued. The plan for the production of consumer goods for the people was overfulfilled for the first quarter with M725 million. The net cash income of the people was M1.5 billion higher than last year. It increased by 4 percent. The retail trade turnover increased altogether by 4 percent, too. The enterprises of the local supply economy increased their services and repair services for the people by 5.6 percent.

In the first quarter 53,148 apartments were built or modernized; that is an increase of 4,248 apartments beyond the plan targets. Thus the living conditions for another 160,000 citizens improved. The Kreis-administered construction sector increased the repair services for houses by 13.7 percent compared to last year. In the capital Berlin 7,972 apartments were completed.

The construction sector increased net production by 7 percent and achieved a plan lead of M112 million. Labor productivity increased by 7.5 percent. The cost per M100 of production were decreased by 2.4 percent.

In agriculture the plan for the state procurement of slaughter animals was surpassed by 31 kilotons, of milk by 152 kilotons, and of eggs by 37 million eggs. In the foodstuff economy and agricultural technology, net production rose by 8.7 percent in the first quarter. In the forestry sector 139,800 cubic meters of timber beyond the plan targets were made available.

Under complicated weather conditions the working people of the transportation sector increased the goods transportation services in the first quarter. The specific transportation expenditure for the national economy's transportation tasks was decreased by 3 percent.

In the post and telecommunications sector the services in the telephone and teletype sector increased by 3.1 percent compared to last year.

In the initiative "Return Funds to the State--Contribute to the National Income," material and financial funds totaling M1.4 billion were returned to the state bank by check in the first quarter.

By 31 March, 25 percent of the planned annual volume of export to the USSR was implemented. The foreign trade turnover with the socialist countries increased by 3.4 percent compared to last year. In the trade with the nonsocialist economic area an export surplus was achieved.

In the individual sectors of industry the following growth in new production and labor productivity per workday and the following decrease in prime costs per M100 of goods production were achieved.

	Net Production	Labor Productivity	Reduction in Prime Costs
-- Expressed in Percent --			
Coal and energy	5.5	4.4	2.5
Ore mining, metallurgy and Potash	10.5	10.7	1.8
Chemical industry	13.0	13.5	1.6
Electrotechnology/electronics			
heavy machinery and installation			
construction	7.8	7.9	2.4
Machine tools and processing			
machinery construction	14.7	14.9	3.0
General machinery, agricultural			
machiners, and vehicle construction	9.9	10.0	2.5
Light Industry	7.3	8.4	1.7
Glass and ceramics industry	3.7	3.8	2.7
Bezirk-administered industry and			
foodstuff industry	9.4	9.6	1.4
Geology	12.9	9.6	3.6

In the Bezirk-administered industry the following growth per workday of the net production and the production of manufactured goods for the population, and the following reduction in prime costs per M100 of goods production were achieved:

	Net Production	Manufactured Goods for the Population	Decrease in Prime Costs
-- Expressed in Percent --			
Capital city of Berlin	18.7	7.1	1.8
Cottbus	12.1	7.8	2.0
Dresden	15.8	5.5	1.5
Erfurt	13.1	5.9	2.6
Frankfurt	12.1	9.8	2.5
Gera	13.5	5.1	2.1
Halle	15.5	6.6	2.5
Karl-Marx-Stadt	12.6	7.0	2.1
Leipsiz	13.7	4.0	2.4
Magdeburg	13.9	6.5	2.7
Neubrandenburg	11.0	7.0	2.0
Potsdam	15.2	5.1	1.2
Rostock	11.0	10.0	1.8
Schwerin	13.4	7.8	2.6
Suhl	13.1	9.8	2.1

/12232

CSO: 2300/303

## ECONOMIC RESULTS FOR JANUARY-FEBRUARY 1986

AU102226 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 9 Apr 86 p 10

[Central Statistical Office Report on Economic Performance for January-February 1986]

[Text] January-February 1986 (Data As a Percentage of Figures for the Same Period of Last year)

Industrial state and cooperative enterprises (including small companies and small cooperatives.)

## Volume of gross production value:

Industry total	100.4
Within this: Metallurgy	108.8
Machine industry	107.5
Chemical industry	93.5
Building materials industry	107.5
Light industry	100.8
Food industry	96.1
Industry excluding food industry	101.2
Number of employees	99.3
Gross product per employee	101.2
Average monthly wages per employee	108.1

Construction sector of the building industry (including small companies and small cooperatives)

Production of the building industry	113.3
Number of employees	94.9
Average monthly wages per employee	117.3

## Foreign Trade (at current prices)

Imports	116.4
Exports	104.8
Retail Trade Turnover (at current prices)	108.6
Within this:	
food, beverages, and tobacco	105.7
articles of clothing	111.7
miscellaneous manufactured articles	110.6

Procurement	96.1
Within this:	
plant products	112.1
live animals	91.9
animal products	99.4

#### Performance of transport enterprises

Goods delivery (based on goods-tonnage kilometers)	109.0
Long-distance transport of passengers (based on passenger kilometers)	101.1

Population's revenues from central sources	110.2
Consumer price index	106.2
Including the 1986 price changes	101.1

Production of the state and cooperative industrial enterprises in the period January-February 1986 increased by 0.4 percent; excluding the food industry, by 1.2 percent. Compared to the low basis of last year, the production of metallurgy, the machine industry, and the building-material industry increased considerably. The production of the mining and light industry increased at a slower rate. At the same time, the production of the electric energy industry decreased slightly and that of the food industry and chemical industry decreased more considerably. Compared to last year, industry sold 0.5 percent less on the domestic market, and 2.1 percent less for foreign trade purposes.

Within the domestic sales, the amount supplied to the wholesale and the retail trade increased by 2.7 percent; excluding the food industry, by 5.5 percent. Sales for investment purposes also increased. The amount of goods sold to production sector consumers decreased by 2 percent. This year, the number of employees in industry dropped by 10,800 people, 0.7 percent fewer than in the first 2 months of last year. Per capita production increased by 1.2 percent and production per hour increased by 2.4 percent.

The production of the construction sector of the building industry exceeded the low level of last year by 13.3 percent, but it was still considerably behind that of 2 years ago. The number of employees decreased by 5.1 percent compared to January-February of last year. Although it increased considerably, productivity did not reach the level of 2 years ago.

The sales of agricultural products decreased by 3.9 percent. The decrease is connected to the 8.1 percent decrease in the procurement of live animals. The procurement of pigs for slaughter decreased by 14.3 percent, and that of slaughter cattle decreased by 2.6 percent compared to January-February of last year. At the same time, the sales of poultry increased by 10.4 percent. The sales of animal products approached those of last year, including slightly more milk and considerably less wool and eggs compared to the first 2 months of 1985.

Retail trade turnover in current prices increased by 8.6 percent, in comparable prices by 3.1 percent. The firm increase in the January turnover was followed by a slower increase in February. Accounted in comparable prices, the greatest increase -- 4.9 percent -- took place in the sales of miscellaneous industrial articles. Sales of clothing articles increased by 1.8 percent and those of foodstuffs increased by 1.9 percent. The turnover of the



catering industry stood essentially at the last year's level. The rate of increase in retail prices decreased from 6.6 percent in January in to 4.1 percent in February.

Socialist bodies spent 16.9 billion forints on investments, 5.6 percent less than during this time last year. Payments at the central investments decreased. The sum of the council and enterprise investments exceeded that of last year during this time.

/12929

CSO: 250v/259

## DEBATE ON JOINT VENTURE LAW REPORTED

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German, 19 Feb 86 p 4

[Article: "Poland: High Tax Incentives for Export Orientation"; originally published in HANDELSBLATT 18 Feb 86, Duesseldorf, 18 Feb--The Polish Parliament is now debating a law to regulate the establishment of joint ventures, that is, companies with participation by western capital.]

The question of joint ventures has been discussed in Poland for many years, but until now doubts have prevailed in party circles about the suitability of enterprises with western capital participation. They were opposed mainly on ideological grounds.

The first breakthrough was made by the law for the establishment of small foreign enterprises by Poles living abroad. Since then, several hundred so-called Polonia firms have arisen. They employ about 30,000 workers and fill many gaps in the Polish market. The activities of these firms were criticized not only in official circles but also in parts of the populace, not least because of their high prices and high profits. Many public prosecutors also took part in the opposition to the foreign firms. Nevertheless the Polonia firms survived because top-drawer officials recognize their usefulness and see in them harbingers of future joint ventures with large capitalist companies.

The bill is a compromise between the dogmatic opponents of joint ventures and their advocates, and contains provisions also found in the laws of other CEMA countries.

Permission for the establishment of a mixed enterprise will be granted by the Minister for Foreign Trade. The participation by the western firm may not be greater than 49 percent of the basic capital, although in exceptional cases the Minister may allow a higher share.

Profits, in zlotys as well as in hard currency, are to be distributed according to the share in capital, and the western partner will be able to remit its share of the profits abroad in hard currency. The joint ventures will be required, however, to sell 15 to 25 percent of their foreign exchange earnings to the state bank at the official exchange rate. They may dispose freely of the remainder. In this respect the joint ventures will be in a better position than the Polonia firms, since the latter must sell 50 percent



of their foreign exchange earnings at the official rate. For Polonia firms the top tax rate may be 80 percent or more. The state will give the joint ventures two tax-free years, after which an income tax of 50 percent must be paid. This tax rate may be lowered, however, if the enterprise exports, and it may fall as low as 10 percent if 100 percent of its output is exported.

Management will consist of Poles and foreigners, with a Pole as chief executive officer. On all important questions, however, unanimity is required. A novelty: of the Polish representatives, one must be elected from the labor force.

The bill met much criticism in the Seim. Some deputies considered the incentives for western firms too limited, but substantial changes are not expected.

The Poles as well as western firms are still in the dark about the chances for joint ventures. According to Polish sources there are already 20 applications.

Aside from the conflicts, usual in all countries, between "capitalistic" joint ventures and state organizations, Poland's financial situation also plays a certain negative role. A survey conducted by the American magazine Business International revealed much scepticism among those questioned. Companies want first of all to see the law in its final form. On the other hand, the social and political climate in Poland is favorable for joint ventures. Even the Polonia firms were successful.

The Government will especially support enterprises that can export to hard-currency countries. Firms will certainly be found, therefore, which are ready to establish joint ventures. But there won't be a race to the Ministry of Foreign Trade.

12991/7687  
CSO: 2300/222

## BRIEFS

ROMANIAN-HUNGARIAN TOURISM TALKS--Deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Hungarian Peoples Republic, Jozef Marjai, received Ion Stanescu, minister of tourism, who was visiting Budapest. In the Hungarian capital, the Romanian minister had discussions with Zoltan Juhar, minister of domestic commerce of the Hungarian Peoples Republic, in connection with the development of relations and of collaboration in the field of tourism between the two countries. An aide-memoire noting the development of these relations was signed. [Text] [Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 11 Apr 86 p 6] /12232

CSO: 2700/137

## PRESERVING SOCIALISM EQUATED WITH VITAL NATIONAL INTERESTS

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 8-9 Feb 86 p 3

[Article by Ignacy Krasicki: "Poland's Position and Socialism"]

[Text] Each country's position in its region and the world manifests itself by a variety of internal and external factors, the most important of which are the social and economic situations of the country and the nature of relations with its next-door neighbors.

Polish history is full of particularly suggestive examples in this respect. The inner breakdown of the Polish kingdom, the sad truth that "Anarchy is the order of things in Poland," and the constant antagonism with all its neighbors were responsible for its defeat.

The situation between the [two world] wars was similar. After all, the September 1939 tragedy demonstrated clearly that the basic lack of a sense of reality on the part of the Pilsudski and the colonels' governments, in conjunction with the selfish class interests of the then-ruling social strata, had been digging the grave of the independent Polish state from its very beginning.

## Lessons of History

The Polish Left drew invaluable conclusions from this [above described] history augmented as it was by the bitter experiences of World War II. These conclusions helped bring about the new process of revolutionary social, economic, and political change which began in the crucial years 1944-45. The Polish Left understood well that only a system with socialism as a goal can guarantee the nation completely new relations with its neighbors, especially with the chief victorious power of the anti-Hitler coalition, the Soviet Union. The party of Polish communists and the patriots who rallied around it understood that those two different concepts--that of Poland's position in the world and of socialism--were closely linked to each other, interdependent. The radical change in the constellation of powers after World War II, which was extremely advantageous for the new Poland's *raison d'etat*, developed from two basic phenomena.

First, as a result of victory over Germany, the Third Reich ceased to exist, and Poland's eastern neighbor, our chief ally, gained the status of a great world power. The return to the Motherland of the ancient Polish [Piast] lands, and the establishment of new borders of People's Poland along the Oder and Lusatian Neisse Rivers, the Baltic sea and the Bug River, were the obvious sign and result of these changes.

Second, the revolutionary changes in our country became a solid foundation of mutual interests for Poland and her socialist neighbors. This latter factor was especially important in order that Poland's position might be strengthened overall, thanks to socialism. In connection with this, Karl Marx's significant words should be remembered about the real possibility of a true unity between nations building a new social system together:

Nations must have common interests in order to be truly united. To make their interests common, present property relations have to be abolished, because they create conditions for exploitation of some nations by others. Only the working class is interested in abolishing the current property relations. And it alone can achieve this. The proletariat's victory over the bourgeoisie means a simultaneous victory over nationalist conflicts which separate nations and sow discord among them.

The above words were strongly confirmed by the achievements of the now over 40 years of building socialism in Poland, as well as in the impressive development of the whole community of socialist states.

#### The Warsaw Pact and COMECON

The military and political alliance of these states--the Warsaw Pact and the organization of mutual economic assistance--COMECON--were and are more than ever the essential tools of unification of the countries in the area of genuine socialism. By perfecting these tools, strengthening and deepening the allied unity as well as social, political and military cooperation, the socialist countries contribute not only to strengthening the whole community but at the same time, to securing their own individual rights and interests, and to improving their position in the region and the world.

The [particular] Polish experience presents a convincing example in this latter regard. In the course of the past 40 years, the more favorable the process of building socialism developed, the stronger Poland's position became not only within the socialist community, but also in the capitalist world. And vice versa. When, during the Polish anti-socialist crisis forces of decay and upheaval attempted to seize power, subvert the economy with anarchy, smear the social consciousness of socialism, and question Polish alliances with the USSR and other socialist countries, not only was Poland's credibility in this part of Europe weakened, but so was our country's position in the whole world.

The assumption, basic from the point of view of our *raison d'etat*, that Poland's place within the socialist community, the Warsaw Pact, and COMECON

decide her general position in Europe and in the world, was in this way yet again decisively confirmed in the 1980's.

### Security in the Region

It is precisely this unity of the basic interests of Poland, the USSR, and the socialist countries in general--a unity based on common [political] systems and ideological ties--which guarantees our nation that which it so tragically lacked both in the 18th century and during the first decades of the 20th century: namely, security in the region.

This is of enormous significance for protection of our vital national and state interests, both in view of the danger of thermonuclear annihilation, as well as the threat from revisionist pan-Germanism.

Poland's regional security is a common and supreme value for all of the Warsaw Pact. And the security of each separate socialist state is likewise of indispensable value for all its allies, among them, Poland.

The above concepts, facts, and ideas delineate our country's place in Europe and in the world. It is a secure place, not subjected to ephemeral changes. It is also a place located in the area of particular sensitivity from the point of view of general European interests of cooperation and peace.

In order that these truths and values--undisputed from the point of view of Polish reasons of state [raison d'etat]--acquire a yet more permanent and forceful measure, it is necessary to constantly keep in mind the extent to which the position of contemporary Poland in Europe and the world depends on socialism.

In precipitating, strengthening, and deepening the process of building genuine socialism in towns and villages under the direction of the party of Marx and Lenin, we directly help Poland rise to her rightful place in the world. And vice versa. The intrigues of the enemies of socialism within our country and abroad, their designs to erase Potsdam and Yalta, to liquidate the GDR by uniting Germany on the basis of capitalism, their hopes that the unity of socialist states disintegrate, their schemes to gradually restore neo-capitalist relations, aim directly at the most vital interests of our nation and state.

That is why Polish opinion should resolutely resist all appearances of the confrontational tendencies stimulated by our domestic opponents of socialism. Hopes to "wait out" socialism and Yalta, mad ravings about the "return to Poland on the Pershing," disregard for the pan-Germanic threat and strivings of the revanchists in the FRG to weaken Poland's alliance and thus increase chances to take away our northern and western territories--all these demands are as anti-Polish as they are, fortunately, irrational.

It is worthwhile to remember these truths. And to do our best to bring the concepts of Poland's position and socialism still closer to each other. This lies in the best understood Polish national interest.

13230/6662

CSO: 2600/287

## SOVIETS JOIN IN ROUNDTABLE PREVIEW OF CPSU CONGRESS

[Editorial Report] Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 18 February 1986 published a lengthy transcript on pages 1-2 of a recent roundtable discussion between Soviet and Polish party activists. The conference was organized in Warsaw on 29 January 1986, on the initiative of the editorial staffs of TRYBUNA LUDU and PRAVDA. Taking part were Polish and Soviet party activists, scholars and journalists who discussed issues which came up during the preparations for the 27th CPSU Congress. The roundtable conference took place in the editorial offices of TRYBUNA LUDU and the following individuals were present: Vitaliy Korionov, PRAVDA commentator; Giorgiy Lebyazhev, trade adviser at the Soviet Embassy in Warsaw; Mikhail Krapivin, press adviser; Vyacheslav Zamotayev, deputy economic adviser at the Soviet Embassy in Warsaw; Oleg Losoto, director of the PRAVDA office in Warsaw; Oleg Kharchenko, first secretary of the Soviet Embassy; Vitaliy Andreyev, engineer, chief consultant to the construction of the Warsaw metro; farmer, member of the PZPR CC Mieczyslaw Maksymowicz; iron-worker, member of the PZPR CC Czeslaw Stepien; first deputy rector of the Academy of Social Sciences, Professor Wieslaw Iskra; director of the Center for the Study of Politics and Propaganda of the Academy of Social Sciences, Assistant Professor Janusz Kolczynski, and the editor-in-chief of TRYBUNA LUDU, Jerzy Majka.

/12232

CSO: 2600/367



## NATIONAL DEFENSE COMMISSION VIEWS MILITARY POLITICAL TRAINING

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 22-23 Feb 86 p 8

[Text] On 21 February, the Sejm National Defense Commission under the chairmanship of deputy Henryk Jablonski held a traveling meeting at the Janek Krasicki Higher Air Force Officers School in Deblin.

Deputies learned of the operation of the school, of the process of teaching and training and of the essential conditions of officer cadets, ensign cadets and students of the air force high school. They visited a teaching-learning base and other school facilities. They discussed problems of recruiting candidates to military vocational schools, stressing the need to enrich and expand the activities of the local organs of the state administration, educational authorities, sociopolitical organizations and youth organizations in order to broaden the drawing power of these schools.

Issues related to military high schools were discussed based on the example of the WOSL Zwirka and Wigura Air Force High School. Besides the Deblin High School, the following also are in operation at present: the air force high school in Zielona Gora, military liberal arts high schools in Lublin, Torun and Wroclaw and the Military Music High School in Gdansk. These schools enjoy great success, proof of which is the number of candidates vying to be accepted that exceeds the number of openings many times over.

The following deputies participated in the discussion: Henryk Jablonski, Tadeusz Rostkowski, Andrzej Trzaskalski, Ryszard Najsznerski, Stanislaw Gucwa, Jerzy Szmajdziński and Jerzy Wilk. During the discussion it was pointed out that military education is implementing successfully the envisaged teaching-training program. It was emphasized that the results achieved in the initial period of operation of the military liberal arts high schools opened last year confirm the validity of the solutions adopted. A great deal of attention was paid to improving the forms and conditions of the teaching-training work of military high schools and to ensuring them a material base that corresponds to their specific nature. The need also was noted for constant patronage over them and for the granting to them of effective aid by the administrative authorities of the given area.

The commission accepted favorably the report on plans to open another military liberal arts high school this year in Czystochowa. At the same time it stressed



that given the tremendous social need, the further expansion of the network of such institutions should be facilitated. This recommendation was made to the appropriate local organs.

Participants in the deliberations placed flowers at the foot of the monument of the heroic fliers of the Deblin eaglets' school.

Deputy Kazimierz Pilat, chairman of the National Education and Youth Commission, took part in the meeting. Other participants included: Boguslaw Kedzia, director of the PZPR CC Science, Education and Scientific-Technical Progress Department and members of the leadership of the Ministry of Education and Upbringing, the Ministry of National Defense and the ZSMP ZG.

8536

CSO: 2600/332

## 'FORMULA' HISTORY EDUCATION ADDS TO SOCIOPOLITICAL TENSIONS

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 22-23 Feb 86 p 8

[Text] Jerzy Wyszowski writes in the columns of ODRODZENIE:

"One of the reasons for the heated arguments over historical awareness is the lack of generally available books and sources allowing for rational digestion of the past. What we have available is prepared formulas and recipes and interpretations in vogue for a given time, but we have little decent historical literature (I mean primarily literature in print) (...)

"The blank pages of history also are a factor spurring on our discussions. I do not see any sense in talking about whether there are many or a few of them; it is enough that they exist (...) again we yield to the delusions that if we do not talk about certain issues, they do not exist. At the same time, we should keep in mind that concealing certain events or phenomena always works to the disadvantage of these events in the estimation of society (...)

"Thus, on the one hand, the general lack of historical literature and, on the other, the blank pages create more myths about our national history. Often they are in conflict (...) While it is very important for one to be firmly convinced about his own view, let us not close the door before a different view, let us not try to impose one compulsory interpretation of our national history (...)

"On the other hand, there should be no disagreement about the facts themselves. For the here and now, there are arguments between textbook learning, the home and other sources. We must ruthlessly build trust in the facts (...) Retaining even one blank page will not bring closer this trust in the facts."

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CSO: 2600/332

## MORE EFFECTIVE PARTY TRAINING PROPOSED

Warsaw ZYCIE PARTII in Polish No 5, 26 Feb 86 p 6

[Article by: MaM]

[Text] On 30 January 1986, under the chairmanship of Politburo member, CC Secretary Comrade Jozef Czyrek, the CC Ideological Commission held deliberations. The meeting was devoted to a discussion of the draft assumptions of the new party training system.

Comrade Janusz Janicki, deputy director of the Ideological Department, opened the discussion. According to his introductory remarks, during the 3 years following the 1980 collapse, there has been a rebuilding of the ideological training system both in the program sphere and in the organizational sphere. At present, training programs are being conducted in over 90 percent of party organizations for approximately 112,000 members of the lectureship and instructorship cadre. Moreover, about 27,000 persons are being trained within the framework of the Worker's Aktiv Schools. At the same time, it is important that many nonparty individuals (sometimes up to about 50 percent) are taking part in this form of training. Higher forms of ideological indoctrination, especially the Evening University of Marxism-Leninism, are functioning well.

On the other hand, the quality and effectiveness of training cause some concern. The need likewise was noted for raising the level of general education. It was assessed that in its present form, it still does not create the proper circumstances for disseminating knowledge about the foundations of Marxism-Leninism, especially with reference to an analysis of the present day.

In consideration of the past experiences and envisaged goals of ideological work among party members, the introduction of Marxism-Leninism study groups has been proposed. The courses are to last 3 years. Upon successful completion of the program, this is to be recorded on the party identification card, and primary school equivalency is to be granted. Until the present time, about 600 such groups totaling nearly 18,000 participants have arisen. Their experiences will help to implement this new form of indoctrination more broadly and effectively.

During the very lively discussion, topics covered included what to change, in what direction to move and what methods to use to make training more

attractive and thereby considerably more effective. Many remarks and proposals were made. Most often, however, the proposal was made that the basic virtue of the modified system of party training should be its close link with practice. It was stressed during the discussion that the program cannot be an abstraction! It should be constructed so that its implementation, based on real reality, relates to the direct experiences of the participants. The belief was expressed that only such a program-structural training design allows for a better understanding and dissemination of the party's policy among its members and among nonparty individuals as well. The failure to appreciate this problem impacts the course of training sessions in a negative way. How often the course taken by training sessions is that of silent meetings with no discussion. This is related to the insufficient consideration of the importance of this issue in the ideological education process.

Much attention also was devoted to the issue of preparing the teaching cadre. It was emphasized that the lecturer and the instructor often are factors determining the level and effectiveness of training. Thus, keeping in mind the importance of this group of the aktiv in the party teaching process and its role in this process, we must be concerned over its proper selection and we also must create suitable conditions for working with this cadre. This obligation applies to all levels and elements of party operation. However, to enable this cadre to measure up to the times and to the current needs of the party, its work should be aided by innovation and technology that penetrates all fields of our life. In choosing a source of information, modernday man considers not only its scope or content, but also modern methods of transmission. Thus, it becomes necessary to make party training more attractive from this viewpoint as well!

Both the assessment emanating from the past course of the indoctrination process and the recommendations and proposals for changing the entire party training system for the future prepared by the CC Ideological Department were viewed favorably. Their straightforwardness and critical view and the validity of selection of directions of action were emphasized.

As the commission's deliberations concluded, Comrade J. Czyrek took the floor. He assessed the discussion as interesting and stated that it dealt with subject matter of special importance. This emanates from the function of our party to be concerned constantly over the level of knowledge of its members. The comrade secretary emphasized however that this function must be shared by all party elements and the entire party apparatus. They should take an active part in this, for the mere conviction and belief that the level of knowledge must be raised do not guarantee the proper attitudes and state of awareness. The speaker stated that as training develops knowledge, it also should mold the skills to assess phenomena properly and independently; it should become a forum for authentic discussion. Taking into account the remarks made during the discussion, the CC secretary advised the continuation of work on the given document.

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CSO: 2600/332

## PARTY ACTIVITIES CALENDAR 3-16 FEBRUARY 1986

Warsaw ZYCIE PARTII in Polish 26 Feb 86 p 20

[Text] The Session of the Politburo

4 February. The Politburo acquainted itself with motions from discussions of the PRON on the subject of the state and prospects for national understanding and directions for the development of the movement:

-- it reviewed information on the results of the coordination of five-year plans between Poland and the CEMA countries,

-- it adopted the timetable for the preCongress campaign,

-- it acquainted itself with the actions undertaken for the purpose of increasing the effectiveness of the battle against the symptoms of social pathology,

-- it reviewed information about the state of sanitation and hygiene in the country.

Consultations and Meetings

3 February. In the Central Committee of the PZPR, there was a consultative session for the secretaries of Provincial Committees, devoted to the ideological-propaganda problems connected with preparations for the 10th Party Congress. The consultation was led by the Central Committee secretary, Henryk Bednarski, with the participation of the Deputy Politburo member, Central Committee secretary, Jan Glowczyk.

-- Under the leadership of Wlodzimierz Mokrzyyszczak, deputy Politburo member, there took place a consultation of the directors of the sectors of the intra-party economy of Provincial Committees devoted to the discussion of financial-economic tasks in the party in 1986. Kazimierz Morawski, the chairman of the CKR [Central Revision Committee], participated in the consultation.

-- At a meeting with press, radio and television journalists from socialist countries and with the press attaches of the embassies of those countries, the key problems of the 24th Central Committee Plenum were presented by the following department chiefs of the Central Committee: Boguslaw Kedzia, of the



Science, Education and Scientific-Technological Progress Department, and Leszek Miller, of Youth Affairs, Physical Culture and Tourism Department.

5 February. A session of the Senate and Executive of the University Committee of the Academy of Social Sciences took place. Prof Henryk Bednarski, secretary of the Central Committee, participating in the session, thanked the current rector, Prof Marian Orzechowski, deputy Politburo member, and acquainted the gathering with the Politburo decisions to entrust the function of Rector of the Academy of Social Sciences to Prof Jarema Maciszewski, and the function of the Deputy Rector to Prof Bronislaw Ratus. Wladyslaw Honkisz, director of the Cadre Department of the Central Committee, also participated.

--- In the Center for Party Courses of the Central Committee in Warsaw, a consultation of the chiefs of the departments (sectors) of the political cadre of the provincial committee took place. Its subject was the basic problems of the realization of party personnel policy. The deliberations were chaired by Wladyslaw Honkisz, director of the Cadre Department of the Central Committee,

7 February. In the CKKP [Central Party Control Commission], there took place a meeting of its leadership with representatives of the leaderships of the organs of state and social control and of prosecution, during which cooperation over the past year was summed up. The consultation was chaired by Tadeusz Nowicki, the deputy chief of the CKKP.

--- In the Center for Party Courses of the Central Committee, there took place a consultation of the directors of cadre departments (bureaus) and of the training of ministries, central offices and cooperative unions, on the subject of the state of implementation of the assumptions of the PZPR cadre policy. The consultation was chaired by Wladyslaw Honkisz, chief of the Cadre Department of the Central Committee.

--- In the Center for Party Courses of the Central Committee, there took place a national meeting of POP [Basic Party Organization] secretaries operating in the groups of vocational schools. Participants in the meeting met, among others, with Boguslaw Kedzia, chief of the Science, Education and Scientific-Technological Progress Department.

9 February. Wojciech Jaruzelski, first Secretary of the Central Committee and chairman of the Council of State, received Polish Ambassador to Hungary, Jerzy Zielinski.

10 February. A protocol was signed in Warsaw on cooperation between Polish-Soviet Friendship Societies. The signing of the documents by Stanislaw Wronski, chairman of the TPP-R [Polish-Soviet Friendship Society], and member of the presidium of the ZRTP [expansion unknown], Wyacheslaw Zalamow, was attended by, among others, Henryk Bednarski, Central Committee secretary, and Soviet Ambassador Wladimir Browikow.

11-12 February. The Mining Commission of the Central Committee, at a session in Katowice, discussed the problems of technical progress in the mining of anthracite and brown coal and the prospects for scientific-technical cooperation with foreign countries. The deliberations were chaired by Politburo Member Jerzy Romanik.

12 February. Politburo Member and Central Committee Secretary Tadeusz Porebski, Chairman of the Deputy Club of the PZPR, met in Central Committee Headquarters with participants in the Warsaw consultative forum of chairmen of groups of the Interparliamentary Union of socialist countries.

13 February. The Central Committee's International Commission discussed the government draft of the "The Program of Work with Polonia in Capitalist Countries in the Years 1986-1990." In connection with Stefan Olszowski's resignation from the position of the chairman, the Commission nominated Marian Crzechowski, Deputy Politburo member and minister of Foreign Affairs; Ernest Kucza, chief of the Foreign Affairs Department of the Central Committee, was nominated the secretary of the Commission.

--- A session of Provincial Committee secretaries devoted to the key problems of social policy took place under the leadership of Marian Wozniak, Politburo member and Central Committee secretary.

14 February. Jan Glowczyk, deputy Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, participated in the annual meeting with Soviet press correspondents in Poland, organized by the Chief Board of the "Prasa-Ksiazka-Ruch" publishing house.

--- The editorial committee for the publication of the "Collected Works" of Wladyslaw Gomulka met in a session at the Central Committee headquarters. Henryk Bednarski, Central Committee secretary, presided.

#### Groups and Organizations

5 February. The Provincial Committee in Kalisz discussed the tasks of party members and organizations in the realization of the resolution of the 23rd Central Committee Plenum and in the pre-election campaign. Jan Glowczyk, deputy Politburo member and Central Committee Secretary, and Antoni Banaszak, deputy chief of the Political-Organizational Department of the Central Committee, participated in the deliberations.

--- Stanislaw Bejger, deputy Politburo member and first secretary of the Gdansk Provincial Committee, participated in the meeting of the division party organization in the PLO [Polish Ocean Lines], inaugurating the pre-election campaign in the province.

6 February. The Provincial Committee in Ostroleka discussed the directives for the socioeconomic development of the province in the years 1986-1990.

--- Jan Glowczyk, deputy Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, participated in the meeting with the political-economic aktiv of the J.



Marchlewski Construction Industry Works in Lodz, which discussed the participation of party members in discussions preparatory to the 10th Congress.

7 February. The Provincial Committee in Konin discussed the tasks of the provincial party organization in the campaign before the 10th Party Congress.

--- The political-economic aktiv of the "H. Cegielski" Machine Industry Works acquainted itself with the preparations for the 10th Congress of the PZPR. During the meeting, in which Stanislaw Kalkus, deputy member of the Politburo, participated, party cards were handed to the new party members.

--- In the Lenin Steelworks in Krakow a meeting of the first secretaries of the POP, lecturers and party training instructors, took place. During the meeting preparations for the discussion on the draft of the party program were discussed. Wladyslaw Loranc, chief of the Ideological Department of the Central Committee, took part.

--- Waldemar Swirgon, Central Committee secretary, and Witold Nawrocki, chief of the Central Committee Culture Department, participated in a meeting with a group of Polish writers, in the Ministry of Culture and Science. The merited writers were decorated with high state honors.

9 February. Jan Glowczyk, deputy Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, met in Katowice with the party aktiv of the journalist milieu. The tasks of the mass media before the 10th Party Congress, were discussed.

--- The Provincial Committee executive in Zielona Gora met with over 600 POP and OOP [Branch Party Organization] secretaries and with a group of the aktiv of the lowest level party organizations. The slogan of the meeting was: "The party is the organizer of the cooperation of the forces of progress and development." In the meeting, Kazimierz Cypryniak, chief of the Political-Organizational Department of the Central Committee, took part.

10 February. The party aktiv in Nowa Huta in Krakow discussed the draft of the PZPR program. Kazimierz Morawski, chief of the CKR [Central Control Commission] participated in the meeting.

--- Central Committee Secretary Henryk Bednarski participated in the consultative session of the ideological aktiv in Pila, which inaugurated the pre-congress discussion in the region.

11 February. Politburo Member Albin Siwak participated in the open meeting of the POP of the editorial board of the First Channel of Polish Television. The problems of socialist morals, lawfulness and party members' attitudes, were discussed.

12 February. The Provincial Committee in Olstyn discussed the tasks of party groups and organizations in the realization of socioeconomic goals in 1986 and the tasks of the provincial party organization in the pre-congress campaign.

--- Kazimierz Zarcikowski, Politburo member and deputy chairman of the Council of State, participated in the meeting of the POP of the prefab section of the Szczecin Shipyard. It was devoted to the discussion of the tasks of party members in the precongress campaign.

13 February. Central Committee Secretary Henryk Bednarski took part in a meeting of the party aktiv in Swidwin, Koszalin Province, inaugurating discussion on the draft party program.

14 February. Politburo Member and Premier, Zbigniew Messner, took part in a meeting in Krakow devoted to the role of science in the Krakow environment in the service of the Polish economy.

--- Florian Siwicki, deputy Politburo member, minister of National Defense, general of the Army, met with the leadership aktiv of Gdansk Province. Stanislaw Bejger, deputy Politburo member and first secretary of the Gdansk Province Party Committee, was the host.

--- In Gdansk, there took place a gathering of the provincial aktiv devoted to combatting disturbance of the norms of social coexistence, problems of social pathology, and activities aimed at improving the moral health of the nation. Stanislaw Bejger, deputy Politburo member and first secretary of the provincial party organization, chaired the gathering and Jozef Baryla, Central Committee Secretary, took part in it.

#### Interparty Cooperation

In Belfast, the proceedings of the 19th National Congress of the Communist Party of Ireland ended. The PZPR was represented at the Congress by Bogdan Prus, first secretary of the Radom party organization, Jan Bisztyga, deputy director of the Information Department of the Central Committee.

9 February. A PZPR delegation to the 3rd Cuban Communist Party Congress ended its stay in Cuba. The delegation was made up of Jan Wozniak, Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, Jerzy Urbanski, chairman of the CKKP, and Czeslaw Dega, the Polish ambassador to Cuba. Marian Wozniak, the delegation chairman, delivered a speech of greetings from the podium of the congress and was received by Raul Castro Ruz, the second secretary of the Central Committee of the Cuban Communist Party,

--- Stefan Zawodzinski, the Director of the Agricultural Department of the Central Committee, completed a working visit of a few days to Czechoslovakia. During the course of a visit to northern Moravia, he familiarized himself with the agricultural situation and the agricultural food industry and met with the party leadership of the province.

11 February. Jozef Baryla, Central Committee secretary, received a delegation from the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Lithuania--with its Secretary Nikolaj Dybienko--which is visiting Poland on the invitation of the Suwalki province party committee. Ernest Kucza, director of the Foreign Affairs Department of the Central Committee, and Waldemar Berdyga, first

secretary of the Suwalki provincial party organization, took part in the talks. Ambassador of the USSR, Wladimir Browikow, was present.

--- Wladyslaw Loranc, director of the Ideological Department of the Central Committee, visited the German Democratic Republic. He delivered lectures at the Polish Information and Cultural Center as well as at the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the Central Committee of the German Socialist Unity Party [NSPJ] on the subject of the problems of ideological work of the PZPR before its 10th Congress.

13 February. Jozef Czyrek, Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, met with Erich Mueckenberger, Politburo member and chairman of the Central Party Control Commission of the German Socialist Unity Party. Jerzy Urbanski, chairman of the Central Party Control Commission also met with E. Mueckenberger.

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CSO: 2600/327

## PZPR ACTIVITIES CALENDAR: 6-19 JANUARY 1986

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSAWY in Polish No 3, 29 Jan 86 p 19

[Unattributed report: "Party Chronicle: 6-19 January 1986"]

[Text] Sessions of the Central Committee Politburo:

14 Jan

The Politburo:

-- Considered the program and organizational assumptions of the 24th Central Committee Plenum, at which prospects for changes and improvements in the system of enlightenment and higher education will be discussed;

-- Accepted a report on the implementation of the resolution of the Ninth Central Committee Plenum dealing with problems of the rising generation.

Session of the Commission for Drafting the Party Program:

10 Jan

-- Under the chairmanship of Central Committee Secretary Wojciech Jaruzelski a session of the Commission for Drafting the Party Program was held. A revised version of the draft was discussed with the intent of recommending that document to the Central Committee at its next plenary session. The session was also attended by the Politburo members and Central Committee secretaries Jozef Czyrek, Hieronim Kubiak, Marian Orzechowski and Henryk Bednarski.

Conferences and Meetings:

6 Jan

-- First Central Committee Secretary Wojciech Jaruzelski, together with Politburo members, Central Committee secretaries and chairmen of the CKR [Central Audit Commission] and the CKKP [Central Party Control Commission, met at the seat of the Central Committee with veterans of the worker movement. One hundred and sixty merited party activists were awarded the

Ludwik Warynski Badge.

-- Marshal of Poland Michal Zymierski was visited by Politburo Member and Central Committee Secretary Jozef Czyrek and Central Committee Secretary Jozef Baryla. Jozef Czyrek decorated the Marshal with the Ludwik Warynski Badge on transmitting best wishes from First Central Committee Secretary Army General Wojciech Jaruzelski.

7 Jan

-- Central Committee Secretary Zbigniew Michalek received the Chairman of the Central Council of Cooperatives, Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, Indrich Zahradnik, during the latter's sojourn in Poland.

8 Jan

-- During its sojourn in Poland the delegation of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Vietnam, headed by Army General Chu Huy Man, member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Vietnam, chairman of the Council of State of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam and chief of the Main Political Directorate of the Vietnamese People's Army, was received by First Central Committee Secretary and Chairman of the PRL Council of State Wojciech Jaruzelski. The participants in the conversation included Central Committee Secretary Jozef Baryla and Director of the Foreign Affairs Department under the Central Committee Ernest Kucza. The Ambassador of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam Nguyen Trong was present.

-- First Central Committee Secretary Wojciech Jaruzelski received the Ambassador of the Republic of Cuba Narciso Martin More Diaz.

-- The Commission for the Protection of Public Health and Environment under the Central Committee discussed the assumptions of the draft plan and budget for public health and social welfare for the year 1986. Its deliberations were chaired by Politburo Member Stanislaw Opalko.

-- In Kiekrz near Poznan was held the 13th Central Conference on Rational Management of the Armed Forces. Its deliberations were chaired by Candidate Member of the Politburo and Minister of National Defense Army General Florian Siwicki.

9 Jan

-- The Ideology Commission under the Central Committee ended its 2-day deliberations at a circuit session in Wroclaw. Party activity in the milieu of the intelligentsia was discussed. The deliberations were chaired by Candidate Member of the Politburo Marian Orzechowski.

-- At the Royal Castle in Warsaw was held a meeting of artists and cultural activists with representatives of party and state authorities. The meeting was attended by Prime Minister Prof Zbigniew Messner. Also present were the Politburo Members and Central Committee secretaries Jozef Czyrek, Jozef Baryla and Waldemar Swirgon.



-- First Central Committee Secretary and Chairman of the Council of State Army Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski received, in the presence of Politburo Member and Prime Minister Zbigniew Messner, the Supreme Commander of the United Armed Forces of the Warsaw Treaty Countries Marshal of the Soviet Union Viktor Kulikov and the Chief of Staff of the United Armed Forces Army General Anatoliy Gribkov. The conversations were attended by Candidate Member of the Politburo and Minister of National Defense Army Gen Florian Siwicki and the Chief of General Staff of the Polish Army General of Arms Jozef Uzycki.

-- Candidate Member of the Politburo and Secretary of the Central Committee Jan Glowczyk took part in a session of the Press Council at which the development of the material-technical base of press, radio and television as assumed in the 1986-1990 National Socioeconomic Plan, was analyzed.

10 Jan

-- The inaugural session of the Council for Science and Technology Progress and Applications under the Central Committee was held. Its deliberations were chaired by its chairman, Politburo Member and Central Committee Secretary Tadeusz Porebski. The vice chairman of the Council is Politburo Member and Central Committee Secretary Marian Wozniak.

-- The 2-day seminar on "The CPSU on the Eve of the 27th CPSU Congress" was ended in Warsaw. It was attended by a 200-member party aktiv group. Central Committee Secretary Jozef Czyrek and Candidate Member of the Politburo and Secretary of the Central Committee Jan Glowczyk met with the seminar participants. The seminar was directed by Director of the Information Department under the Central Committee Jerzy Lizarz.

-- The Presidium of the Commission on Women under the Central Committee met with the chairpersons of commissions and sections on women under province party echelons with the object of exchanging experience and defining issues relating to women that should be raised during the campaign prior to the 10th Congress. The deliberations were chaired by Politburo Member Zofia Grzyb and attended by Director of the Socio-Occupational Department under the Central Committee Stanislaw Gabrielski.

13 Jan

-- The Culture Commission under the Central Committee discussed the status of and prospects for the conservation of relics and the maintenance of museums. Its deliberations were chaired by Politburo Member Hieronim Kubiak.

15 Jan

-- The Commission on Social Policies under the Central Committee considered the government draft of a decree for increasing pensions and annuities in 1986 and examined reports on the status of the work on collective labor bargaining agreements. Its deliberations were chaired by the commission's vice chairperson Zofia Wilczynska.

16 Jan

-- The Youth Commission under the Central Committee discussed the material prepared for the 24th Central Committee Plenum insofar as it relates to the implementation of the resolution of the Ninth Central Committee Plenum on youth affairs. The commission also examined reports presented by youth associations on the implementation of tasks addressed to them by the Politburo as regards the implementation of the resolution of the Ninth Central Committee Plenum. Its deliberations were chaired by Politburo Member Tadeusz Czechowicz.

17 Jan

-- A plenary session of the CKR considered a report on the auditing activities of the CKR during the second half of 1985 and discussed draft theses of the CKR report to the 10th PZPR Congress. Its deliberations were chaired by CKR Chairman Kazimierz Morawski.

18-19 Jan

-- A conference of first secretaries of province party committees was held. The conference, attended by Central Committee secretaries, chairmen of the CKR and the CKKP, and directors of Central Committee departments, was chaired by First Central Committee Secretary Wojciech Jaruzelski.

At Party Echelons and Organizations:

8 Jan

-- The Lomza Province PZPR Committee discussed the tasks of the province party organization as regards preparations for the 10th party congress. Its plenary session elected Mieczyslaw Czerniakowski, hitherto organizational secretary, to the post of first secretary of the province committee. The following were elected as province-committee secretaries: Marek Strzalinski and Jan Zarzecki. The deliberations were attended by Candidate Member of the Politburo and Secretary of the Central Committee Wlodzimierz Mokrzyszczak and Director of the Socio-Occupational Department under the Central Committee Stanislaw Gabrielski.

-- Politburo Member Stanislaw Kalkus took part in a session of the Poznan Province People's Council dealing with the program for cultural development of the Wielkopolska region.

9 Jan

-- Politburo Member Albin Siwak took part in a session of the Commission for Proposals, Grievances and Signals for the Population under the Walbrzych Province PZPR Committee, at which its performance last year was assessed.

--The Koszalin Province PZPR Committee evaluated the activities of local party echelons against the background of the political and socioeconomic situation in the province.



-- The Poznan Province PZPR Committee discussed the directions of the province's socioeconomic development in the years 1986-1990. Its deliberations were attended by Politburo Member Stanislaw Kalkus.

10 Jan

-- The Leszno Province PZPR Committee discussed organizational matters. In connection with the retirement of First Province Party Committee Secretary Jan Plociniczak, the hitherto Organizational Secretary Stanislaw Sawicki was elected the new first province party committee secretary. The deliberations were attended by Central Committee Secretary Zbigniew Michalek as well as by Director of the Office of Letters and Inspections under the Central Committee Marian Kot and Deputy Director of the Cadre Policy Department under the Central Committee Jerzy Wojcik.

-- Politburo Member Kazimierz Barcikowski attended a meeting of the branch party organization at Department K2 of the A. Warski Szczecin Shipyard, at which the program of preparations for the 10th Congress was discussed.

11 Jan

-- The Torun Province PZPR Committee discussed the tasks of the province party organization as regards implementing socioeconomic tasks for 1986. Its deliberations were chaired by Politburo Member and First Province Party Committee Secretary Stanislaw Opalko. In connection with his retirement, Stanislaw Opalko addressed to the plenum a request to relieve him of the post of first province party committee secretary. The province committee entrusted this post to Wladyslaw Plewniak, hitherto the organizational secretary. The deliberations were attended by Politburo Member and Central Committee Secretary Jozef Czyrek as well as by Director of the Ideology Department under the Central Committee Wladyslaw Loranc.

-- The Gdansk Province PZPR Committee outlined the tasks of the province party organization in the economic domain for 1986. Its deliberations were attended by Politburo Member and Central Committee Secretary Marian Wozniak and chaired by Candidate Member of the Politburo and First Province Party Committee Secretary Stanislaw Bejger.

-- Politburo Member Stanislaw Kalkus took part in the inauguration of "The Maritime Year in Education," held at the Ensemble of Economics Schools No 2 in Szczecin.

13 Jan

-- The Radom Province PZPR Committee discussed the tasks of the province party organization as regards preparations for the 10th Congress and evaluated party activities intended to promote the housing situation. Its deliberations were attended by Politburo Member Zofia Grzyb, Director of the Department of Intraparty Administration under the Central Committee Antoni Gorny and Deputy Director of the Economics Department under the Central Committee Andrzej Dobrucki.

-- The Elblag Province PZPR Committee considered the tasks of the province party organization regarding preparations for the 10th Congress as well as in the light of the resolution of the 13th Central Committee Plenum. In connection with the transfer to other work of the heretofore First Province Party Committee Secretary Jerzy Prusiecki, Boleslaw Smagala was elected the new first province party committee secretary. The deliberations were attended by Central Committee Secretary Zbigniew Michalek and Director of the Cadre Policy Department under the Central Committee Wladyslaw Honkisz.

-- Politburo Member and Central Committee Secretary Jozef Czyrek familiarized himself, at a meeting with the political and administrative heads of Rzeszow Province, with the region's socioeconomic situation and the course of preparations for the 10th party congress. J. Czyrek also took part in a meeting of the branch party organization at the Mechanics Department of the Rzeszow WSK [Transportation Equipment Plant], of which he is a member.

-- Politburo Member Albin Siwak met with the party aktiv of the Province Sanitary-Epidemiological Station in Warsaw.

14 Jan

-- The Slupsk Province PZPR Committee determined the tasks of the province party organization in the campaign on the eve of the 10th PZPR Congress. Concerning organizational matters, the plenum accepted the request of the heretofore First Province Party Committee Secretary Edward Szydlak and relieved him of his duties. Zygmunt Czarzasty, heretofore deputy director of the Socio-Occupational Department under the Central Committee, was elected the new first province party committee secretary.

15 Jan

-- The Czestochowa Province PZPR Committee discussed the tasks of the province party organization in the campaign on the eve of the 10th party congress. Its deliberations were attended by Politburo Member Stanislaw Kalkus.

-- The Gorzow Wielkopolski Province PZPR Committee evaluated the implementation of resolutions of the Ninth Congress within the province party organization. As regards organizational matters, the heretofore First Province Party Committee Secretary Florian Ratajczyk asked the plenum to relieve him of his duties in connection with his transfer to diplomatic service. The heretofore Ambassador of the PRL to Yugoslavia Wiktor Kinecki was elected the new first province party committee secretary. The deliberations were attended by Politburo Member and Central Committee Secretary Marian Wozniak.

-- The Zamosc Province PZPR Committee discussed the directions of the province's development in the years 1986-1990. As regards organizational matters, the plenum accepted the resignation of the heretofore First Province Party Committee Secretary Wladyslaw Kowol, in connection with his transfer to other work. The heretofore Governor of Zamosc Province Marian

Wysocki was elected the new first province party committee secretary. The deliberations were attended by Central Committee Secretary Waldemar Swirgon and Director of the Cadre Policy Department under the Central Committee Wladyslaw Honkisz.

16 Jan

-- The Szczecin Province PZPR Committee discussed the tasks of the province party organization as regards increasing the effectiveness of economic management. Its deliberations were attended by Politburo Member and Central Committee Secretary Marian Wozniak.

-- The Biala Podlaska Province PZPR Committee discussed the participation of the province party organization in the implementation of socioeconomic tasks in 1986. Its plenum was attended by Director of the Economic Department under the Central Committee Marek Holdakowski.

17 Jan

-- Central Committee Secretary Zbigniew Michalek took part in the ceremony of awarding the Order of Banner of Labor 2nd Class to the Kolaczkowo State Farm in Konin Province.

18 Jan

-- The party committee at the Wroclaw Polytechnic discussed the status, prospects and development of the academic cadre at this engineering school. Its deliberations were attended by Politburo Member and Central Committee Secretary Tadeusz Porebski and Director of the Department for Science, Education and Technological Progress under the Central Committee Boguslaw Kedzia.

#### Interparty Cooperation:

7 Jan

-- During his sojourn in Hanoi Deputy Prime Minister and Chairman of the Planning Commission under the Council of Ministers Manfred Gorywoda pinned highest Polish decorations on eminent Vietnamese personages. The Grand Ribbon of the PRL Order of Merit was conferred on Member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Vietnamese CP and Prime Minister of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam Phan Van Dong. The Commandery with the Star of the PRL Order of Merit was conferred on the members of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Vietnamese CP the deputy ministers Vo Nguyen Giap and To Hu, as well as on the candidate members of the Politburo Deputy Minister Dong Si Nguyen and Minister of Foreign Affairs Nguyen Co Thach. The Commandery of the PRL Order of Merit was conferred on Secretary of the Central Committee of the Vietnamese CP Hoang Tung and Member of the Central Committee and Director of the Foreign Affairs Department under the Central Committee Vu Quang.

17 Jan

-- Politburo Member and Central Committee Secretary Jozef Czyrek met with Secretary General of Morocco's Party of Progress and Socialism Ali Yata. On

the same day Jozef Czyrek met with Member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Chilean CP Volodia Teitelboim. J. Czyrek also received Member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Venezuelan CP Eduardo Gallegos Mancer.

14-18 Jan

-- A visit was paid to Moscow by Editor-in-Chief of TRYBUNA LUDU Jerzy Majka upon the invitation of the editorial board of the PRAVDA daily, the organ of the CPSU Central Committee. Concluding his visit, J. Majka was received by CPSU Central Committee Secretary Mikhail Zimyanin. Also present were Editor-in-Chief of PRAVDA Viktor Afanas'yev and PRL Ambassador Wlodzimierz Natorf.

1386

CSO: 2600/272

## SZCZECIN PZPR, GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS MEET UNAFFILIATED AKTIVS

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 1-2 Mar 86 p 2

[Report of meeting by H. Prawda]

[Text] -- How close is the vision of the future, presented in the draft of the PZPR program, to your own strivings and aspirations?

--Does your opinion of the program agree with the opinions of your friends and colleagues? If not, on which points does it differ?

Those were some of the questions asked at a meeting of a 300-person group of unaffiliated aktiv with members of the party and state leadership of Szczecin Province. We will have to wait for the results of the poll questionnaire; however, the first statements by the unaffiliated workers and employees of large and small enterprises and institutions show that this form of invitation to wide-scale public discussion on the draft program met with approval. As Arkadiusz Dalak, a farm worker from Przybiernow, said in a conversation with a journalist: The party program for the 10th Congress affects all of the people and the entire country, and because of this, the broadest masses of working people should express their opinions and submit their comments and suggestions.

Here are some other opinions which were expressed at the Szczecin meeting.

Tadeusz Kopanski, employee in Swinoujscie ENERGOPOL: The draft PZPR program looks to the future of our economic development and progress. Much can be done in this regard by the entire maritime economy, whose goals thus far are being implemented only partially. The large Swinoujscie fishing-shipbuilding-port center is an example of this. The potable-water shortage is growing. This affects not only the health spa, but also the future of Swinoujscie as one of the most importance maritime centers on the Baltic.

Konrad Makuch, teacher from Szczecin: Even the best programs remain on paper if they are not very scrupulously implemented every day by all working people: workers, farmers and intellectuals. To do this, personal responsibility on every job must be increased. Above all, we must take a very strong position on the growing waste of public property and the failure to do the work which is required by the normal job contract. Penalties for waste are too mild to produce good results.

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CSO: 2600/329



## AIR DEFENSE UNIT DISCUSSES PZPR PROGRAM DRAFT

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 1-2 Mar 86 p 2

[Text] (PAP) The meeting of the Primary Party Organization (PPO) in the First Fighter Aircraft Regiment, "Warsaw," of the National Air Defense, held on 28 February, was devoted to a discussion of the draft PZPR program.

In a paper delivered by PPO first secretary, Capt Jacek Niegodzinski, and in the discussion, it was emphasized that the draft is a document which outlines the party's real tasks into the 21st century.

Much attention was given to the goals and tasks contained in the program which deal with the country's socioeconomic development and the struggle for peace and the security of the state.

General of Arms Florian Siwicki, Politburo member and minister of defense, who attended the meeting, underscored the importance of the nationwide discussion of the draft program. This demonstrates the party's great sensitivity and the feeling of responsibility expressed in statements made by party members. He also discussed certain aspects of the country's sociopolitical situation with its international determinants.

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## LODZ PZPR COMMITTEE, FACTORY REPS MEET

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 28 Feb 86 p 2

[Text] (PAP) Replying to the demands of party members made during the pre-Congress discussion that there be closer contacts between party echelons and plant organizations, members of the secretariat of the Lodz Committee (LC), first secretary of the LC and Politburo member Tadeusz Czechowicz, and the executive board and workers, members of the LC plenum, in separate groups, visited six plants in Lodz Province on 27 February. Conversations were held with shop workers, party members, youth, trade unionists, and workers' self-management activists.

These visits gave rise to many concrete suggestions. Here are some of them: There is a great need on the part of workers for sincere, open talks; attention should be given to plant information systems, because frequently workers do not know even the most important problems of their factories. Comments were also noted on the subject of the attitudes of some representatives of the management staff, who do not always observe the principle that they are first a comrade, and only then a manager.

All of the suggestions were included in the LC executive board's work plan. Many matters were referred for settlement to the appropriate organizations, ensuring the plant committee's reliable information on this subject. It was decided to continue this form of contacts.

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## WLOCLAWEK NITROGEN PLANT HOSTS 'SOCIAL PATHOLOGY' TALKS

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 4 Mar 86 p 2

[Article by Marek Badtke: "The Party is Not Alone in the Struggle Against Wrongdoing"]

[Text] "We often choose foreign expressions when we feel helpless. That is how I explain the presence of the words 'social pathology' in our life," said Jozef Marciszewski, a metalworker at the Nitrogen Plant, at yesterday's meeting in Wloclawek. "The workers believe that we are always attacking the elimination of social scourges like a 'dog attacks a porcupine.'"

And they translate the word "pathology" as a sign of "sick logic." Therefore, we must show more determination in combating those phenomena which are in contradiction to humanistic values and the moral standards of socialism. Adventurers, speculators, drunks and drug addicts should not feel that they will go unpunished. The same with people who change jobs at whim. "It is high time we fully respected the laws which were established to deal with all evidences of wrongdoing," said Czeslaw Tyczkowski, foreman in the Radziejow MEPROZET.

The statements made at the meeting held in Wloclawek on 3 March, which was devoted to the struggle for the nation's moral health, were full of emotion, and often passion, and there were many of them. Jozef Baryla, PZPR CC secretary, was present.

The elimination or reduction of negative aspects must also be accompanied by popularization of sterling examples and attitudes. That is the viewpoint that was presented by Jaroslaw Skowronski, farmer from Kowal gmina, inspector in IRCh; Regina Szychulska, farmer, ZSL activist; Rev Marian Bienioszek, curate of the Evangelical-Augsburg parish in Wloclawek; and Henryk Kowszewicz, assessor in the Wloclawek Regional Court.

In a town known for its workers' traditions, especially strong demands were that the morality of work be guaranteed. The relaxation of discipline on the job, waste, indifference as to quality of production, lack of internal controls and toleration of these aspects by the management group--those are the reasons for the delays in overcoming economic difficulties.

The party is not alone in its struggle with all kinds of distortions in public life. This was shown by the proceedings at the meeting in Wloclawek, where representatives of ZSL, SD, the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth, IRCh, catholic societies, and churches of various denominations, spoke out. In condemning wrongdoing, we must shape, and then carefully cultivate, socialist values and models. A united front of people who are active and sensitive, created by various forces and groups, should help in this effort. In this work, which is called the moral health of the nation, we must all begin with ourselves, our neighbor, and our own surroundings, said one of those attending the conference in Wloclawek.

The present stage of normalization of Polish life, said Jozef Baryla, when strong political passions are fading and people want to live calmly in peace, greater respect for work and law is required. But to achieve this we must fully unite all of the forces of people of good will and good deeds. Party members have a special task, he said. In practice, party membership means integrity, honesty and conscientiousness. In leading the striving to clear the Polish landscape of all signs of wrongdoing, we must begin with ourselves in removing the obstacles which stand in the way of our achieving the full moral health of our nation.

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## DIFFERING VIEWS OF 'COALITION' RULE, 'PROLETARIAN DICTATORSHIP'

## Too Much Dialogue

Warsaw NOWE DROGI in Polish No 1, Jan 86 pp 149-150

[First paragraph is introduction by NOWE DROGI No 1, Jan 86

[Letter by Bonawentura Kaiser]

[Text] After reading Professor Sylwester Zawadzki's article, "The Development of Socialist Democracy and the Coalition Method of Exercising Authority," I would like to mention a few observations and reflections which came to me in my everyday practice of the coalition method of exercising authority on the lowest level.

Why has the term "dictatorship of the proletariat" almost completely disappeared from our political vocabulary? Is it because the term betrays our present and potential allies? Or is it because in this transitional period, as we build the foundations of socialism--we unfortunately do not really know ourselves where we are on the road to socialism--the party can fulfill its leading role without as dictatorship of the proletariat? Or, having set as our primary goal understanding, dialogue, and gaining the support of a broad section of the population, do we sometimes renounce our ideological identity as a Marxist party? Or do the present activities not lead to a continuation and a realization, in a changed form, of the thesis of the moral and political identity of the nation?

That which separates us and makes us different from our coalition allies quietly leads to ideological confusion in our ranks--to the ideological undermining of the party. It is true that as a party we possess no complete certainty on the question of the political model of socialism and the leading



role of our party. Our allies possess complete certainty on this question, or have possessed it in recent years. Through the activists of the fundamental cells of these parties a singular model of Polish socialism is promoted and popularized--a socialism of small producers. This model has recently gained more and more supporters, even among the working class, from which a sizable portion of this stratum is descended, as well as from the class of small producers themselves. In the broad social sense this model begins to be the only road for achieving some sort of personal welfare. The young intellectual technicians have also begun to support this model, because they do not see a chance for themselves in the ossified and structures of our industries, which are unfavorable to innovations. People are terrified of big capitalism, but not of small capitalism.

When we speak of the development of socialist democracy, of the coalition method of exercising authority, we cannot forget that the years 1980-1981 have left indelible marks on people's consciousness. Many still have the embedded and continually developing conviction that the Polish model of socialism does not demand that the PZPR play the exclusive leading role.

Let us not say that the class structure, i.e., the predominance of the working class, gives the party of that class the right to a leading role in the coalition method of exercising authority. That right is weak and the principle of that leading role is poor.

The agricultural structure is changing in Poland. If we want to have something to eat and the food to be cheap, we must increase the territory of peasant farming. Let us say openly that the time of the traditional peasant economy in Poland is ending, and the time is coming for a farmers' economy, with a territory increased to the limits expressed in the agricultural reform. A rich peasantry, controlling almost 70 percent of the arable land, and rich craftsmen, conscious of their economic strength, will want to play a leading role in the country--their own interests will demand it. Then the small producer sector will not only be a basis for establishing all kinds of counterrevolutionary movements, but these movements will also enjoy strong support in this sector. Economically strong classes will have to try to break free from the leadership of the working class, which will limit the further growth of their riches. First they will try to draw the working class to their side, with a self-governed Poland as their motto, in order to break it apart and weaken it through creating from it a class of small producers, caring only about their own group interests. This has already happened? Yes, but it could happen again. At the appropriate moment the opposition will attempt this. The opposition will stand on the ground of the constitutional principles of the government, but with a vision of Poland different from the party. Some publicists are summoning us into an alliance with this "constructive" opposition.

In speaking of the coalition form of exercising authority, we cannot forget the role of the Church, or rather the clerics, who for years have conducted an antigovernment indoctrination of Polish society, and whose social doctrines have found many supporters especially among the young. By conducting a dialogue with these clerics we only strengthen their political authority in

society. Let us conduct a dialogue with the believers without the intermediary of the clerics.

The rank and file of the party is in favor of a reformed, socialist democracy, of cosmopolitan tolerance, of the coalition method of exercising authority, of dialogue and understanding. However, these same party members do not want the price for this to be the loss of the party's identity.

It is worth reflecting on this when discussing the socialist democracy and the coalition method of exercising authority. Too much dialogue and understanding at too great a cost may also lead the party to break with its own class and to ideological confusion. Then it might turn out that at the 11th Congress we will be a little to the left of a social democracy and at the 12th a little to the left of a Christian democracy.

#### More Publicity for Divergent Views

Warsaw NOWE DROGI in Polish No 1, Jan 86 pp 151-152

[Letter by Włodzimierz Stanisławski]

[Text] The term "the coalition method of exercising authority" has been used for a long time now in political documents and in publications. However, there has been a total lack of scientific, theoretical analysis of this concept. So I was very interested in the article of Professor Sylwester Zawadzki in No 9 of NOWE DROGI, in which the author raises many very essential theoretical problems and also presents interesting suggestions for political practices.

Professor Zawadzki states that the coalition method of exercising authority is not an accidental and transitional phenomenon under our conditions. I think that the statement that this method cannot be treated as a transitional and accidental phenomenon is quite accurate. For the author himself states that in the history of People's Poland, also in reference to the coalition method of exercising authority, the "wave line" is characteristic, i.e., occurrences of the lessening of the role of the ZSL and the SD, in which their role becomes only that of "transmission."

Fully appropriate, however, is the author's assertion that the coalition method of exercising authority results from the objective social conditions. For as long as deep social divisions occur in Polish society, with a prominent class-stratum structure expressing varied social interests, there will obviously continue to be a need for and sense in the activities of political parties and social organizations of a different type which represent their interests. After all, the thesis of achieving a state of moral and political unity in our society has been totally comprised in recent years. The consequence of recognizing the inevitability of the existence of political or social organizations representing the various interests which appear in society must in turn be the recognition of the role of these political forces as the real participants in the exercise of authority, exerting influence on decisions, and participating in the forming of the state's policies.

In S. Zawadzki's opinion, one of the essential characteristics of the coalition of the 80's is the widening of the circle of participants in this accomplishment. They are not only political parties, but also associations of Catholics and lay Christians and other social organizations and associations. This has also found expression in the creation of PRON. We must remember that a condition for the proper functioning of such a system is the acceptance by all the organizations participating in it of the program of building socialism in our country and of the leading role of our party in the whole society and in the system of participants in the coalition exercising authority.

The leading role of the PZPR, however, cannot mean a monopoly on authority. The experiences of the preceding periods show that this type of approach is disastrous both for the party itself and for society as a whole. A lack of appreciation for the role of other parties and organizations leads to a separation of the authorities from the masses of society. In lessening the permeability of information channels, the leadership does not get a complete picture of the aspirations and moods of society. On the other hand it creates the conviction in society that the party is responsible for everything. During the crisis of 1980 it led to the conviction that the party and only the party was at fault.

The coalition method of exercising authority must not only designate a share of positions in government organs, but also a share in the responsibility for making decisions and realizing them.

In conjunction with this, it seems to me that a fuller manifestation of the differences of views of the partners of this coalition is essential. Let society know what the differences of positions on individual questions rests upon, and then, who is responsible for the subsequent decisions that are made.

#### In Defense of PZPR 'Leading Role'

Warsaw NOWE DROGI in Polish No 1, Jan 86 p 152

[Letter by Wojciech Kumala]

[Text] I read with great care and interest the article by S. Zawadzki, which, as I see it, is an attempt to explain the problems of the coalition method of exercising authority in Poland. In this context several questions came to mind which I will list below:

1. Does the author admit that the state is an organ of class rule?
2. Does he admit that the state is waging a class war, and is not reconciling the classes?
3. Does he admit that the period of transition from capitalism to socialism is a period of class war, that the state created during this time is a dictatorship of the proletariat against the classes possessing private means of production, with the aim of creating universal, social ownership of these means?

4. Does he admit that society in Poland is composed of classes:

- a) those possessing in social rule the means of production in industry and agriculture--the working class;
- b) those possessing the means of production in private rule: --in industry--craftsmen and capitalists, in agriculture--peasants and capitalists?

5. Does he admit that as long as classes exist in Poland the PZPR is the leading force in building socialism, that this epoch, in which we are currently living is:

- a) a transitional period from capitalism to socialism;
- b) that the state should be the dictatorship of the proletariat;
- c) that the goal of this state of the dictatorship of the proletariat is building the foundations of socialism?

6. Does he admit that the form of the dictatorship of the proletariat--the people's democracy--demands that those nonproletarian parties working with the Marxist-Leninist party share unanimity with it, an identical program, leaving it organizationally independent?

7. According to the author and the substance of his article, wherein lies the concrete substance of the directing (leading) role of the party in the process of building socialism, given the remaining program independence of the ZSL and SD: "accepting the partnership means recognizing the independence of the parties and their independent approach to methods of performing the tasks of building socialism, the tempo of their socialist transformation, etc." (S. Zawadzki: "The Development of Socialist Democracy and the Coalition Method of Exercising Authority," NOWE DROGI No 9, 1985).

8. In the understanding of the author of the article does the coalition method of exercising authority mean the authority, the dictatorship of all classes and parties? --If so, it is senseless to speak of a class state, and at the same time with respect to the real existence of classes to speak too soon about a general national state.

Perhaps this is all concerned with a return to "to the sources," to F. Lassall.

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## WARSAW CONFERENCE EVALUATES ZSP'S UNIVERSITY ROLE

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 10 Feb 86 p 2

[Text] How to present effectively the students' interests in the collegiate bodies of institutions of high education? How to achieve a real cooperation of the various agencies of the Association of Polish Students [ZSP] in managing the institutions? These were the basic questions to which answers were sought by ZSP members--student representatives to the senates of these institutions, at the conference which took place in Warsaw on 8 February of this year.

It was noted during the debate that the winter semester, which is ending soon, is, in a somewhat natural way, closing the first introductory period of implementation of the revised law on institutions of higher learning. Those decisions favor regulating the work of the institution and concentrating the activities of its self-managing and representative bodies on improved fulfilling of the basic goals of institutions of higher learning. As was emphasized in the discussions, the participation of the ZSP in these processes was effective whenever the students did not limit themselves to merely formal participation in the meetings of the senate and departmental councils, but actively brought up problems important to them and took an active part in working out ways and means of solving them.

The discussions have demonstrated the importance of the cooperation of the association with other youth organizations and political organizations active at the higher institutions to the realization of the ZSP initiatives. The experience gained so far from the participation of the ZSP representatives in the work of the senates of the institutions should be put to good use in the coming semester. The main task facing the association in the immediate future is active cooperation in improving the plans and programs of study in such manner as to secure better efficiency and better results of the didactic process.

The ZSP plans also to participate actively in working out the educational programs and their realization at the institutions. It also intends to deal with problems of the better professional preparation of graduates, improvement of forms of programming skills and starting a plan to introduce the students' work program during their term of study.



Prof Czeslaw Krolkowski, deputy minister of science and higher education, emphasized that the problems and directions of activities undertaken by the ZSP are contained in the resolution of the 22nd Plenum KC PZPR. Expansion of the role of ZSP in the life of institutions of higher learning depends in his opinion also on the active participation of the association's representatives in the work on the status of these institutions, organization of the students' self-government bodies, and working out programs of development for the institutions of higher education.

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CSO: 2600/291

## STUDENT COMMENTARY ON ZSP EFFECTIVENESS, STUDENT ATTITUDES

Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish 15 Feb 86 p 10

[Article by Mariusz Janicki]

[Text] The author is a 3d year student of Polish studies at Warsaw University. We hope that this article will provoke an exchange of opinions on the situation among the students.

The atmosphere around the higher educational institutions and students is not good. All kinds of views and opinions are circulating which are influenced also by the daily press and weekly magazines. The versions presented there have a diversified cognitive value--to put it mildly. First, people who graduated a few years ago understand little of the present situation. Besides using the worst journalistic methods, they conduct interviews using the so-called "key": ZSP party members, "Wici" (peasants' opinions), previous student self-government, an official, possibly a young scientist (closer to youth)! The picture that results from these interviews may be clear and many confirm the author's idea, but it is far from the truth. The matter is serious when we realize that a large majority of people do not have the slightest idea what an institution of higher learning really is. It is known that there are exams, deans and professors, but the rest is confusing, which I myself found out in many instances.

The present situation at the higher schools is quite complicated (I am saying this from the perspective of Warsaw University). Now it is not any more as it was even 2 or 3 years ago when the opposition mood was very strong. Today a new line of division between the students is becoming progressively more pronounced. There are attempts to make light of it, to disregard it in the name of unity of the "students brotherhood"; but the line exists and is becoming more pronounced all the time. Regarding it in the most general terms, it is a matter of a generation gap. Young people are entering the university; people with a clean slate, too young to have had any political "past." (In 1981 they were 14-15 years old.)

Being less interested in political problems is connected with the desire of taking advantage of all the prerogatives available to students. Who can best deliver those? Obviously the legal organization--the ZSP. One of

its members once said to his antagonists: "You people keep up with your conspiracy, keep plotting, and we shall keep enjoying our vacations abroad!" This statement is an excellent illustration of the split which is taking place at the institutions of higher learning. The polarization is still strong. The ZSP circles comprise a separate group which stays together, organizes its own cultural diversions, vacations, publishes some short-lived papers read exclusively by its own members. And still it is gaining new members and power. There are two reasons for this: after the dissolution of the students' self-government, in its previous form, there is no other significant organization to which the first year student has access, and then this very ZSP has at its disposal the major part of funds for amusement and tourism. The Association of Polish Students has already separated itself from the older students. It is counting on the youngest group and is gaining some measure of success.

The old self-government is still maintaining a strong position, or rather the people who at one time were connected or sympathized with it. Its activity can be evaluated in various ways. The truth is that many of its actions were not carefully thought through; they were too emotional, drastically one-sided; but those people did not graduate from schools for diplomats and still the discussion with them was useful, because it immediately led straight to the heart of the most important matters. The fact that on the opposite side, there was no equivalent organized partner to discussion, is certainly not their fault. The reason that the first year student took his first lesson in citizenship education from the self-government activist was not because the activist's ideas were so much to his liking, but because nobody else talked to him. The dynamism of the self-government in itself had its attraction: always a full board of messages, letters, appeals. These characteristics, really nonessential for the substance of the case, play a significant role.

Will the ZSP be able to fill the void left in the wake of the old self-government? For the time being not many signs point in this direction. This new organization lacks charisma and spontaneity.

It is true that ZSP claims to be a social-existentialist organization, but I don't believe that it does not have any other ambitions; and if it wants them realized, it must change its style. For the time being there is no ZSP at the most important departments of humanities at Warsaw University; such as, for instance, Polish studies, sociology, philosophy and history. This certainly is significant.

Finally, it is time to talk about the so-called "centrum." This is the most numerous group at the university. This group takes in those who are not interested in politics at all and who are very passive.

There are, though, also those who are very well versed in politics, but their acute criticism does not allow them to get engaged on either side. Sometimes small things decide: the style of campaigning, certain definitions, primitive

aggressiveness, exaggerated exaltation. Herbert put it wonderfully as a matter of "good taste." This aesthetic attitude to politics is gaining followers. I have even heard an opinion that politics is in bad taste. This does not mean limiting oneself to his or her own interests, but it calls for a different attitude, devoid of hysterics, because many problems in our country do not have a political character in spite of all appearances. This attitude is criticized as being cynical, resulting from a lack of ideas. However, the belief that any idea, though it may be the worst, is by its own definition better than none, is wrong. It would be better for the world if some time ago some people had been absolutely devoid of ideas.

The question arises whether the "centrum" can get closer to the ZSP. For the time being this is impossible because of that "good taste." Besides, the centrum has a great need of independence, this being one of its most important characteristics. I believe, therefore, that an eventual rapprochement could happen only on the ground of some wider forum; it cannot take place as a result of lack of an alternative. Let us admit it openly: at the present time there are not many opportunities for expression, especially for a political center. But then this was always the case. Therefore, the society has a false picture of an institution of higher learning. From this stem the various anti-student demands, the decreasing sympathy for students and some cadres.

I do not wish to seek for excuses; our study habits are really terrible, we are not taking advantage of all the opportunities that come our way, we lack enthusiasm and energy, we lack intellectual hunger. The practical, down-to-earth matters become more important to us; tutoring a wealthy illiterate is more important than Plato and Socrates. There is no desire to learn, there is no discussion, everything is left for the last moment, like drudgery. And this is taking place at Poland's leading university. I don't know how to explain this. Maybe this is some kind of a general tendency, a sign of the times?

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## JOB ASSISTANCE DIRECTIVE PUBLISHED

Warsaw MONITOR POLSKI in Polish Item No 2, 30 Jan 86 pp 4-5

[Directive No 32 of the president of the council of ministers, J. Messner, issued on 24 December 1985 in the matter of job assistance for functionaries dismissed from the Security Force and the Citizens' Militia]

[Text] On the basis of article 57 paragraph 2 of the law of 31 July 1985 on the service of functionaries of the Security Force and Citizens' Militia of the Polish People's Republic (OFFICIAL GAZETTE no 38 item no 181) the following is ordered:

Article 1. Whenever the following terms are used in this directive:

- 1) functionary--understand by this a functionary dismissed from the Security Force or the Citizens' Militia, who has not yet completed: for a man--the 55th year of his life, for a woman--the 50th year of her life and who is not counted among one of the disable groups.
- 2) provincial government for internal affairs--understand by this the provincial government for internal affairs proper to the place of residence of the functionary.
- 3) organ of employment--understand by this the regional state administrative organ with particular competence in matters of employment at the rudimentary level proper to the place of residence of the functionary.

Article 2. 1. Upon his application the functionary is to be referred to a job in a socialized place of employment.

2. In extremely justifiable circumstances when it is impossible to refer him to a job in a socialized place of employment, the functionary may be directed, with his consent, to a unit of the socialized economy which organizes production or services in the form of publishing work--for employment in this work.

3. The functionary is to file his application for employment with the provincial government for internal affairs, which will present this application to the organ of employment.



4. The organ of employment will refer the functionary to a job with the consent of the chief of the provincial government for internal affairs.

Article 3. 1. The functionary should be referred to a job suitable to his special qualifications. In the event of the impossibility of directing him to such a job, the functionary--with his consent--may be directed to another job.

2. The socialized place of employment will employ the functionary referred by the organ of employment, taking into account the recommendations included in directing him there. Employment of the functionary will follow the general principles with regard to the conditions of employment and wages specified in the schedule of qualifications which are binding in the given place of employment.

Article 4. 1. The functionary should be referred to a job in the locality in which he has a permanent place of residence, or in a nearby locality, if it is possible to travel to this place by means of state transportation.

2. With the consent of the functionary he may be referred to a job in another locality than that specified in paragraph 1, if the workshop which employs the functionary insures him help in obtaining a place of residence.

Article 5. 1. If the functionary refuses acceptance of the proposed job because it does not correspond to his special qualifications or because of its significant distance from his place of residence--he should inform the organ of employment and the provincial government for internal affairs of his refusal.

2. The chief of the provincial government for internal affairs in agreement with the organ of employment will conduct an evaluation of the legitimacy of the refusal to accept the job by the functionary.

3. In the case of an illegitimate refusal to accept a job by the functionary, the organ of employment, after coordination with the chief of the provincial government for internal affairs, will direct the functionary to the job according to the general principles.

Article 6. For the functionary, who himself indicates a workshop in which he would like to obtain a job--without the mediation of the organ of employment--and appeals to that organ to issue a directive to the job, the organ of employment is to issue such a directive.

Article 7. 1. In the case of the existence of an obstacle which will not permit the functionary to be directed to a job in the course of 30 days from the time the application is received, the organ of employment is to notify the provincial government for internal affairs about this.

2. The notification, which was mentioned in paragraph 1, does not free the organ of employment and the chief of the provincial government for internal affairs from their obligation to refer the functionary to a job immediately

after the cessation of the obstacle which does not permit him to be directed to a job.

Article 8. 1. In the instance of a functionary separated from his work situation who has acquired the right to a militia pension in measure less than the 30 years of service toward that pension and who wants to continue to work--that functionary is to be referred to a job by the procedure specified in the present directive.

2. The functionary mentioned in paragraph 2 will submit his application for referral to a job with the provincial government for internal affairs within 30 days of the day of his being separated from his work situation, however, if the separation from his work situation resulted from reasons of a lingering illness or justifiable absence from work for other reasons--within 30 days from the day of the cessation of the reason which caused the separation from his work situation.

3. The right for a renewed referral to a job by the procedure specified in this directive does not apply in the instance of the separation from a work situation of a functionary without a renunciation of his own fault or in the instance of being fired from his job.

Article 9. To the extent that possibilities allow, functionaries who have earned their militia pensions after having served for 30 years or who have completed: for men--55 years of their lives, for women--50 years of their lives may also be directed to a job, at their request, according to the principles defined in this directive.

Article 10. Directive No 17 of the President of the Council of Ministers of 10 March 1976 on the matter of directing functionaries of the Citizens' Militia dismissed from service to a job loses force (MONITOR POLSKI no 10, item 49).

Article 11. This directive goes into effect on the day it is issued.

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## BRIEFS

YOUTH'S 'MOST ADMIRABLE' LIST--[From an interview of Grazyna Zwolinska (GAZETA ROBOTNICZA, 27 Dec 1985) with Maria Mossakowska from the Center for Research of Problems of Youth ZG ZSMP, author of the work: "The State and Nation in the Social Awareness of Youth." ]--"When we inquired about their role models and asked them to choose from among 180 contemporary personalities, from almost all walks of life, the winners very decidedly were : John Paul II and General Wojciech Jaruzelski. Following them was a short interim and then the chosen were: Jablonski, Milosz, Rakowski. I like to note that the young people were not supposed to choose one single person, but had to decide on three names." [Text] [Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish 18 Jan 86 p 2] 12470/6662

POZNAN UNIVERSITIES START SOCIAL COUNCILS--In the last few days social councils were started at eight Poznan institutions of higher learning. The law pertaining to institutions of higher learning has provided the legal ground for forming this type of social group. The purpose of the social groups is the creation of closer ties between the institutions of higher learning and the social environment, economy, and culture of the region. They are supposed to control and evaluate the functioning of these institutions, and to initiate scientific research projects which serve the socio-economic and cultural needs of the region. The councils were formed by the decision of the Voivodship People's Council in Poznan for the term of office of the present WRN, to which presidium the councils will present an account of their activities at the beginning of each academic year. Social councils were started at the Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznan Polytechnical School, at the academies of medicine, agriculture, economy, music, physical education as well as the State Higher School of Fine Arts. [Text] [Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 10 Feb 86 p 2] 12470/6662

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## SCIENTIFIC, PEACEMAKING ACTIVITY OF ELENA CEAUSESCU

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 1, 10 Jan 86 pp 5-8

[Article by Diamanta Laudoniu, vice chairman of the National Council for Science and Technology: "A Brilliant Example of Revolutionary Work for Progress in Science and Education, the Nation's All-Around Prosperity, and the Cause of Socialism and World Peace"]

[Text] In the spirit of the advanced revolutionary concept formulated by Party General Secretary Nicolae Ceausescu from the high forum of the Ninth Party Congress, science has acquired the status of a critical factor for the nation's constant rise to new heights of civilization and progress in recent decades.

In speaking of the role of science and technology in socialist and communist construction in his Report to the Ninth Party Congress, Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out that "The program to develop socialist society is inseparably bound up with scientific progress and intensified basic and applied research in all sectors." This practically and theoretically invaluable principle of the need to bring domestic scientific research up to the standard of the world's most advanced achievements and of the requirement to provide for rapid technological progress, as integral parts of the strategy for building the new order in Romania, was further developed in the documents of the subsequent party congresses and national conferences and in the party general secretary's explanations and speeches as well.

In stressing the need of steady development of national scientific research as an essential for Romania's progress, Nicolae Ceausescu said in his address to the National Conference on Scientific Research and Design in 1974 that "Unfortunately a misconception of scientific activity in Romania has prevailed for a long time. It was believed that we should not undertake research, especially in the technical fields, because it would be better to spend money on imported foreign licenses than on research."

The 20 years since the Ninth Party Congress have confirmed the critical, constantly growing role of science and scientific research in the development of modern technology and the introduction of technical progress.



The contemporary technical-scientific revolution, accompanied by the conversion of science and technology into a powerful productive force, is progressing intensively in all sectors of the national economy while scientific research and technological development are becoming concerns of the greatest national importance. Romanian science is now taking the lead in the immense undertaking of creating a modern, advanced economy.

Strong research units were formed in the years of socialism in all fields and employing over 200,000 people. Now there are 210 scientific research institutes and centers throughout the country in addition to 100 agricultural research and production stations compared to 110 and 36 respectively in 1965. In 1984, the total volume of fixed assets in the scientific research units was over 112 times greater than in 1945 and about 10 times greater than in 1965. Outlays on science and technology were over 8 times greater in 1976-1980 than in the 1961-1965 Five-Year Plan and about 2 times greater in the last five-year plan than in 1976-1980. And as for promoting new technologies, 6,400 new and modern technologies were applied in 1981-1985, especially in the chemical, metallurgical, light, machine building, electrotechnical and power industries and in nuclear physics and energy. In 1984 over 95 percent of the technologies needed to build investment capacities were domestically designed.

The Directives of the 13th Party Congress, based on Nicolae Ceausescu's exceptionally accurate and far-sighted view, provide for Romania's transition to a new and higher stage of its socioeconomic progress on the basis of heavily intensified scientific research and accelerated introduction of technical progress. In reference to the goals set by the 13th RCP Congress, Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out in his address to the Congress on Science and Education that "We must fully realize that the lag in development of the productive forces on the basis of the latest scientific and technical advances can seriously impair the Romanian people's future and Romania's very sovereignty and independence." This emphatically bears out the need of accelerated application of the latest advances of the technical-scientific revolution to production as a first requirement for developing and improving the entire national economy in order to prepare for the transition in the next period to the higher stage of building socialist society and to communist construction in Romania. In the same speech the party general secretary said, "Scientific research must be committed with all determination to implementation of the new five-year plan and the expectations up to the year 2000 in order to produce the research findings and the most advanced technologies and introduce them more rapidly for purposes of raising the technical and qualitative standards of all products. By 1990 the Romanian products must be equal to the best comparable products in the world and in the lead in some fields."

A permanent correlation of research, education and production to maintain regular introduction of technical progress throughout the economy is an integral part of Nicolae Ceausescu's conception of the role of science in national economic development. To this end he pointed out in his speech at the Plenum of the RCP Central Committee in October 1982 that "We must strengthen collaboration between research and education and secure the active participation of education in solving research problems. We must also strengthen collaboration with production and with the cadres and workers in production even further. Experience has shown that where there is and has been close collaboration with production a number of problems of great technical and scientific importance have been rapidly resolved."



Romania's recent history demonstrates that all its accomplishments, the increase in industrial output by more than 100 times, the radical reform of agriculture, the renovation and growth by more than 16 times of fixed assets, the radical changes in the technological processes, growth of productivity, and the increase by 28 times in the social product and by 32 times in the national income compared with 1945 were based to a great extent upon increasingly pronounced introduction of the latest scientific advances, the technical-scientific revolution, and the new. Economic growth necessarily requires modernization of the production structures through science and technology as well as technical and qualitative improvement of the products and growth of labor productivity. Meanwhile continuous expansion of the raw material base requires more intensive geologic investigation and technological studies as well as complete use of the raw materials. As Nicolae Ceausescu said, all these (and examples could be multiplied) demonstrate the complete correlation of the economic and scientific objectives and the need of a creative symbiosis of scientific research, technological development and production.

Under the direct guidance of Academician Dr Eng Elena Ceausescu, as chairman of the National Council for Science and Technology and, since the Congress on Science and Education, chairman of the National Council for Science and Education, Romanian research is benefiting and will benefit further, in an increasingly close involvement with education and production, by the competence and revolutionary and creative innovating spirit of the eminent politician and scientist of wide international reknown who is making an active contribution with a communist sense of responsibility to the formation and implementation of party and state policy and to the constant improvement of the organization and management of Romanian socialist society.

Throughout her whole life and activity Academician Dr Eng Elena Ceausescu has been an inspiring example of revolutionary dedication to the people's welfare and happiness and the triumph of justice and freedom. Both in the outlaw years and after 1944, Elena Ceausescu made a major contribution to the struggle for social and national liberation and for the socialist revolution and construction in Romania.

In the highly responsible functions entrusted her by the party and the people Elena Ceausescu shows an inexhaustible innovating spirit, high principles, a sense of justice and deep concern for the individual. As a scientist she has done precise and productive research work and furthermore in the office she is holding as chairman of the National Council for Science and Education she is making unremitting efforts to coordinate and develop Romanian science and to keep promoting the latest advances of the present technical-scientific revolution in all sectors of the national economy as a sine qua non for the development and progress of Romanian socialist society.

As a graduate of the Faculty of Industrial Chemistry at the Bucharest Polytechnic Institute, Elena Ceausescu began her scientific research work at ICECHIM [Central Institute for Chemical Research], one of the first research institutes founded in Romania after the main production means were nationalized. The first scientific studies made in the institute's laboratory concerned polyester resins used to make polyurethans.

Production of a synthetic rubber that would exactly reproduce the characteristics of scarce natural rubber was one of the chief chemical problems that came up in those years, when the foundations were being laid for the nation's socialist industrialization. Upon noting this new situation, Elena Ceausescu organized scientific research projects for stereospecific polymerization of isoprene in diluted solutions. The novelty of the problem and technology was typical of the thinking of the scientist who boldly approaches the most complicated problems despite the scientific (and sometimes also subjective) difficulties reflecting the conflict between the old and the new, between those in favor of importing natural rubber and those who were making every effort to promote the new. The difficulties were overcome successfully, the studies made it possible to explain some basic aspects of the synthesis process, and they led to an original industrial process for obtaining polyisoprene. In 1967 Elena Ceausescu brilliantly defended her doctoral dissertation on the basis of the findings of the lengthy investigation, and it was one of the first dissertations on polyisoprene synthesis.

The correctness of this direction of research is even more apparent when we consider that back in the period when the raw materials crisis was not so acute a domestic process for making an elastomer to replace natural rubber was started and developed in Romania, to an extent that now makes Romanian industry almost independent of its import. The activation of the installation to produce polyisoprene was not the end of the studies. The further studies made to perfect the technology and improve polyisoprene rubber place Romania in a leading position in this peak field of the chemical industry.

As director of ICECHIM Elena Ceausescu lent a new spirit to scientific and technological research in chemistry. In a short time the quality of the projects improved and they went into industrial production. Jointly with the researchers in the collective, Elena Ceausescu published many articles in the Romanian and foreign technical journals as well as a number of fundamental works that were widely esteemed throughout the world and published in translation in many countries on all continents. A great many patents were registered, indicating the originality of these research projects, their worldwide primacy, and Romania's contribution to the world's chemical science and technology.

It is unquestionably to Elena Ceausescu's credit that she contributed to the advancement and recognition at home and abroad of Romanian chemical research, constantly bent on developing the most efficient modern technology to make better use of raw materials and solve the major problems of productive activity.

With her exceptional organizational ability, foresight, high standards and consistency, Elena Ceausescu organized the Central Institute for Chemistry on a new concept based on unity of science with technology and of research with production through uniform coordination of research in all research institutes, in plant laboratories and in chemistry departments in universities. This provides for rational, coordinated use of the research forces and technical and financial resources, eliminates duplication, and concentrates attention upon the major problems presented by the aims and tasks of the five-year and longer range plans for chemistry. The Central Institute for Chemistry now has 23 units for technological research and engineering, design and low-tonnage production, covering all representative fields of the chemical sciences. In the last few years this direction and organization of chemical research have made it possible to develop the chemical industry over 90 percent on the basis of domestic research results.

This exemplary organization of scientific and technological research in chemistry and its integration with education and production served as models for the founding (under the auspices of the National Council for Science and Technology, of which Elena Ceausescu was made chairman) of comparable central institutes in the main branches of science and technology, which effectively integrate research, design and specialized higher education with production.

The inherent bond between science and social development is a constant of the thought and action of the RCP and its general secretary and of the way Elena Ceausescu implements their policy. The fact to be stressed is that the talented researcher and revolutionary politician, despite her important tasks in party and state administration, regularly engages in scientific research, technological engineering and design as chairman of the Scientific Council of the Central Institute for Chemistry. By optimally combining her capacities as member of the Political Executive Committee of the RCP Central Committee and as first deputy prime minister of the government with the high office of chairman of the National Council for Science and Technology, Elena Ceausescu has made a noteworthy contribution to the performance of the functions assigned to that body by the party and state for implementation of the tasks of science and technology in national socioeconomic development.

As chairman of the National Council for Science and Technology Elena Ceausescu directed and directly supervised the preparation and application, jointly with the economic ministries and central research institutes, of the programs for better exploitation of the raw material, material and energy resources, recovery and recycling of all material and energy resources, growth and diversification of agricultural production, reduction of production costs and outlays, greater labor productivity, reduced imports, increased exports etc. In implementing these ends, special emphasis is placed on design and application of new technologies that will make more intensive use of the raw materials containing useful substances and enhance the value and quality of the products and accordingly the effectiveness of the activity as a whole.

The formation of integrated districts and units for research and production or research, production and education reflected the transition to higher forms of organization in order to fully coordinate research, education and production. Those aims were first accomplished in chemistry and later in physics, electronics and electrical engineering, and the Bucharest and Iasi polytechnic institutes and Brasov and Craiova universities have also acquired such functions.

The decision to form microproduction or production units under the research or higher education units, for purposes of prompt and efficient assimilation on an adequate economic scale of the products and technologies resulting from research, was of the same outstanding importance.

In order to shorten the research-design-production cycle, a vitally important problem, a whole series of measures have been taken such as formation of mixed interdisciplinary collectives consisting of specialists from scientific research and design, higher education and production, employment of teachers in higher education and students in the final years to solve complicated problems of research and application of the results to production, and collaboration of collectives of specialists in plants and in research institutes.



Thanks to application of those measures, a high level of material and financial resources, an increased number, vocational diversification and accelerated improvement of the qualifications of the personnel, as well as growing diversification and intensification of scientific research and technological development, the whole activity is making a considerable leap and conforming more and more extensively to the requirements of the current technical-scientific revolution. Meanwhile basic research has been developed in various fields such as physics, chemistry, biology, mathematics, the economic and social sciences, and the technical sciences.

The fact is significant that the funds allocated in Romania to scientific research and development are now comparable to those in a number of developed countries with rich traditions in research and development and introduction of technical progress. The results obtained (renovation and better quality of the products, reduced imports and increased exports, development of machines, equipment installations and devices with technical performances up to world standards, and greater labor productivity) indicate the important part that allocation of those funds to research has been playing.

The idea of organizing the entire research system on a strictly scientific basis was developed and all the other requirements for that activity were met at the suggestion and under the direct, regular and consistent management of Elena Ceausescu.

Elena Ceausescu's impressive accomplishments in science and its correlation with the requirements of society and of socialist and communist construction are the outcome of years of intensive work, initiatives and sustained efforts alongside Nicolae Ceausescu, the inspired and farsighted leader of the RCP and the state.

The RCP's and Nicolae Ceausescu's advanced revolutionary view of the decisive role of scientific research and education in construction of the fully developed socialist society was very emphatically brought out at the First Congress on Science and Education in November 1985. By virtue of the programs approved for scientific and technological research and that for personnel training in 1986-1990 and on to the year 2000, this national forum organized on the initiative and with the active help of the party secretary general opened up inspiring prospects for educational and research work to carry out the decisions of the 13th Party Congress.

Elena Ceausescu's appointment as chairman of the National Council for Science and Education positively guarantees implementation of the 13th Party Congress' programs for this activity by the highest standards.

In the light of Nicolae Ceausescu's conclusion that in the present stage science is the most powerful force for economic and social progress, the Congress on Science and Education appealed to all workers in scientific research, technological development and introduction of technical progress to increase their efforts and contribution toward solution of the problems vital to the success of the aims of the new five-year plan, namely implementing the energy program for growth of the national energy potential, use of unconventional energy sources, and preparation of rational norms for energy consumption and the program for development of the raw material base, better use of raw materials and materials,

and development of new materials and technologies with better characteristics; developing new and highly automated multipurpose machines and equipment; implementing the program for automation, electronization and robotization of production, etc.

In reference to the contribution that research in all industrial sectors and in construction and transportation as well is to make to attainment of the quantitative and qualitative indices of the five-year plan, to regular promotion of technical progress and to growth of labor productivity in the economy, Elena Ceausescu pointed out in her speech concluding the proceedings of the Congress on Science and Education that "According to the provisions of the Unified Plan for Socioeconomic Development for 1986-1990, technical progress is to provide about 55 percent of the planned gain in labor productivity in the new five-year plan."

Meanwhile the congress pointed out the need of developing basic, long-range research in all fields of knowledge in order to open up new horizons for applied research and to enrich the treasury of the world's scientific thought.

The Congress on Science and Education also stressed the need of best possible use of the conditions created for education so that it will perform its important function and best meet its obligation to keep conforming to what is new and to the changes the present technical-scientific revolution is making. In this connection it emphasized the necessity of strengthening the inseparable tie of science with education and production and also of further improving the content and structures of education by promoting all that is new and advanced in human knowledge and social practice. As Elena Ceausescu said at the congress, "The founding of the National Council for Science and Education makes it possible to unite science and education even more closely and reinforce their collaboration with production in order to carry out the research and personnel training programs and introduce the advances of technical-scientific progress into all activities even more rapidly."

Concerned with the need of promoting science as a medium of communication among nations, at a time when the increasingly brisk circulation of cultural and scientific values has become an unquestionable fact of our time, Elena Ceausescu attaches particular importance to the problems in connection with scientists' and scholars' responsibility for making a better world and a new international order and for defending and consolidating peace.

As the chairman of the National Council for Science and Education says, in our time development of collaboration and cooperation among scientists and scholars in all countries and international exchange of experience and scientific values on a wide scale are vital to all peoples' progress. Today, when we are seeing an intensive revolution in science and technology and when the human genius is probing more and more deeply into the secrets of matter, science no longer knows any borders and has become a possession of all mankind. Modern civilization can no longer evolve without all nations' contributions to the legacy of the world's values.

As chairman of the Romanian National Committee "Scientists and Peace," Elena Ceausescu is making a consistent effort to strengthen collaboration with other



scientists organizations throughout the world in the effort to defend peace, the gains of science and civilization, and all peoples' right to life. As she says, "There has always been a close bond between science and peace, and a mutual conditioning and determination. Man's whole evolution shows that peace and progress are inconceivable without the direct contribution of science, while science cannot advance its potentials for progress without peaceful conditions."

Expressing its complete adherence to the foreign policy of peace, friendship and collaboration among peoples consistently promoted by the RCP and the state, the Congress on Science and Education ratified the "Appeal to scientists, scholars and teachers throughout the world on behalf of collaboration, disarmament and peace," calling upon the servants of science, culture and education to take steps as soon as possible to induce governments, parliaments and politicians to abstain entirely from use or threat of force in international relations and to settle any disputes, conflicts or litigious questions by peaceful means alone.

In this vein Elena Ceausescu pointed out in her speech at the Congress on Science and Education that "Under the present circumstances, when a great many of the advances of modern science and technology are being used for warlike purposes and to make weapons of mass destruction, we must do all we can to keep strengthening our collaboration with scientists and educators of the whole world in the struggle for peace, disarmament and elimination of the danger of a nuclear war, so that science and culture will solely serve peace, international understanding and the security of every people's welfare and happiness."

Elena Ceausescu's productive, notable and tireless activity is a brilliant incentive to all workers to promote the scientific values in Romania during the current technical-scientific revolution. A politician with outstanding qualities, an inspired revolutionary, an exemplary communist militant and an inestimable scientist, Elena Ceausescu is taking a most active part in the whole revolutionary undertaking of socialist construction in Romania, while making a major contribution through her scientific works and her entire activity to the advancement of the technical-scientific revolution and to man's great contemporary battle for peace.

Elena Ceausescu's birthday is a new occasion for the research workers and all workers to pay warm and profound homage to her work, fraught with revolutionary zeal and total dedication to the high offices entrusted her by the party and the people, and to her notable contribution to the great undertaking of building the new order in Romania. Her versatile activity in both politics and science is also a powerful incentive for us research workers and for all Romanian citizens as well at work and in the task of unfailing implementation of party policy in all activities.

The workers in science, the communists and the entire people in full unanimity of thoughts and feelings send Elena Ceausescu their cordial felicitations on this anniversary day and their good wishes for a long life and new successes in her efforts to carry out the RCP policy and consistently implement the decisions of the 13th Party Congress.

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## NEED TO COMBAT RELIGIOUS CONCEPTS REITERATED

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 1, 10 Jan 86 pp 21-24

[Article by Univ Reader Dr Octavian Nistor for the first year of the University of Politics and Management: "The RCP's Revolutionary Conception of the World and Life. Party General Secretary Nicolae Ceausescu's Contribution to Creative Development of the Theory and Practice of Socialist Revolution and Construction"]

[Text] The revolutionary materialist philosophy of the working class is the RCP's conception of the world and life, the theoretical basis of its policy and entire activity. As it says in the RCP Program, "The party's ideological basis is dialectical and historical materialism, scientific socialism and the Marxist-Leninist theory, which is based on experience and the universally valid truths and constitutes a living guide to action and to the struggle for revolutionary social reform."

Dialectical and historical materialism is a scientific and radically revolutionary conception that reveals the fundamental laws that govern the world's constant change, the evolution of social organization, and the continuous progress of man's thought, knowledge and practice and arms men for the battle for innovating structural change of society and of their own existence as well.

In the whole process of forming and developing the masses' socialist awareness it is vital to maintain an extensive effort to arm the communists and all workers with the scientific-materialist interpretation of nature, society and thought, the origin of the world, and the laws that govern man's development, so that they will reject the idealist, religious conceptions of the world and use the advances of science and of dialectical-materialist philosophy for that purpose. As Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out in his Report to the 13th Party Congress, "We must take a firm stand against the various mystic and obscurantist manifestations, which obstruct understanding of the real relationships between man and nature, the laws that govern the universe, and the objective requirements of social development and interfere with man's struggle for purposeful self-determination."

## The Conflict Between Science and Religion

The revolutionary conception of the world and life treats reality in its entirety, providing a scientific and consistently materialist solution to the basic problem of philosophy, that of the relationship between social existence and social awareness. At the same time dialectical and historical materialism express a new attitude toward the world, an active, revolutionary attitude of reform of society and social relations. Moreover history has proved that the superiority of dialectical and historical materialism lies in its scientific reflection of objective reality and its capacity to foresee events and to mobilize the masses, all progressive forces and the peoples for renovation of the world. Marxist philosophy bases the process of knowing man and society, as well as the revolutionary effort toward socialist and communist construction, on realistic, scientific grounds.

Materialist philosophy has always developed in open opposition to backward, anti-scientific and mystic-religious theories and doctrines and all that is old, outmoded and anachronistic. Accordingly unalterable opposition to religious, fideist, spiritualist, mystic and obscurantist ideas and idealist and metaphysical concepts of any variety is a characteristic feature of dialectical and historical materialism. In his speech at the Expanded Plenum of the RCP Central Committee in June 1982 Nicolae Ceausescu said, "We must reply to the metaphysical conceptions of the world from dialectical-materialist positions. The guarantee and observance of religious freedom do not mean that communists accept the religious or idealist conceptions of the world. Proceeding from scientific advances and human knowledge, the communists are guided by a scientific conception of the world and society. They cannot accept any theories about supernatural powers governing or having governed the universe," especially since in our time basic sciences like chemistry, physics, biology, genetics et al. have greatly enhanced man's knowledge of the world and provided scientific answers to the questions about the origin and development of the universe.

Science and religion are two radically different ways of interpreting objective reality, and there is an inevitable structural incompatibility between them. While religion is a distorted reflection of reality based on illusions and prejudices, science is a system of disciplines concerning nature, society and thought that adequately reflects the world around us and its objective laws. Science explains natural and social phenomena as well as their developmental laws rationally, and it is based upon precise proofs and empirical verification of its explanations as it becomes ever more objective.

Dialectical and historical materialism is in this category in irreconcilable opposition to religious, fideist, spiritualist, mystic and obscurantist ideas and idealist concepts of any description. It exposes the false, antiscientific and irrational character of religious dogmas. As we know, in the history of knowledge materialist concepts have always been developed in close connection with the development of science. This fact is being confirmed even more emphatically in the current technical-scientific revolution, when modern science is reaching more and more new areas of reality and demonstrating at each developmental stage the correctness of the materialist philosophy and the unity of materialism and science.



The revolutionary conception of the uncreated materiality of objective reality is a synthesis of the results of scientific progress that also demonstrate the theoretical and practical value of the materialist philosophical procedure and reveal the materiality and infinity of the universe and the ascending dialectical development of nature and society. As we know, dialectical materialism brings out the inherent dynamism of matter, ruling out the "necessity" of spiritual factors outside of and prior to the material world, as the idealist and religious schools contend. As Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out, "We communists know that the world was not created by any supernatural, divine power and that no one is standing somewhere directing social development and the organization of people's lives. Every day and every hour science is bringing more and more new and unquestionable evidence of the formation of nature and man and the materiality and infinity of the universe. Experience tells us that men are becoming more and more capable today of changing nature and society and discovering any secret of nature or social development.

Dialectical-materialist philosophy does not in the least detract from the role of man's purposeful activity when it stresses the objectivity and necessity of the laws of nature and society. The objective laws can be determined and used, and they are not studied in order to take a fatalistic stand toward them but to be able to act in the interest of social progress when their direction is understood. The materialist philosophical interpretation of the world is vital to understanding and changing nature and society because it reveals the order and regularity of the phenomena and thereby makes scientific foresight possible.

In this period, when science is emerging more and more as the most powerful force for economic and social progress, the fundamental opposition between science and religion becomes more and more conspicuous. The present technical-scientific revolution is a qualitative leap in development of knowledge of nature and use of its objective laws, thereby constantly reducing man's dependence on the natural forces. As the general secretary of the party said in his address to the Congress of Science and Education, "In view of this situation, we must not for a moment forget that socialist and communist construction are feasible solely on the basis of the latest scientific and technological advances and human knowledge in general."

Scientific-materialist convictions are formed and consolidated by acquisition of broad and sound scientific, professional disciplines, improvement of general culture and political-ideological indoctrination, and promotion of the militant revolutionary spirit in all activities. It is now more necessary than ever for scientific-materialist indoctrination to be constantly related to the gains of the new technical-scientific revolution and the changes that process is making in the relationships among nature, society and culture and among man, science and production.

#### Opposition to Religious Prejudices in Forming the New Man

The RCP's program documents bring out the vital importance of the historical and dialectical-materialist philosophical conception to all of the Romanian people's constructive revolutionary activities. Experience, the facts and Romania's great progress in socioeconomic development and socialist construction emphatically bear out the correctness of the RCP's general policy, the superiority of the new order, and the invincible power of historical and dialectical-materialism and scientific socialism.

The scientific-materialist conception of the world and life is precisely reflected in the RCP's whole theoretical and practical activity and in Nicolae Ceausescu's exceptionally valuable and significant works.

If the new man is to be formed as a purposeful and dedicated builder of socialism and communism, all educational work must be based on scientific advances and all that man has created that is more progressive in all fields, including that of knowledge. Nicolae Ceausescu said, "Being a communist means being a person versed in many scientific and cultural disciplines who is continually enlarging his mental horizon and learning all that is more advanced in his time. Being a communist activist means, in addition to that, being able to understand the new and to form, on the basis of the new scientific advances, theoretical and practical conclusions for revolutionary social reform."

The revolutionary reforms that have taken place in Romania in social existence, development of the productive forces, social and production relations, and people's living and working conditions, the party's intensive ideological and cultural-educational work, and consistent promotion of the revolutionary conception of the world and life, the principles of socialist ethics and justice, and revolutionary humanism brought about an essential restructuring of the workers' mentality, set of values and behavior and of the masses' political awareness. Moreover the socioeconomic, political, ideological and cultural innovations would have been out of the question without reforming the workers' awareness, improving their general knowledge, and refining their personalities with socialist traits and ideals. These structural changes in the moral-political attitude and behavior of the members of Romanian society are reflected in the workers' unvarying loyalty to party policy and in the dedication and sense of responsibility with which the entire Romanian people work for the nation's progress and prosperity and its rise to new and higher levels of civilization.

Formation of socialist awareness is a complicated and lengthy process going on against the background of the ceaseless conflict between the new and the old and the unrelenting battle against backward ideas, attitudes and habits in order to promote the high political, moral and philosophical values of socialism. By doing away with exploitation and oppression and instituting new economic and social-political relations as well as fully equal rights among all members of society, socialism provides for full development of the personality, application of all citizens' creative aptitudes and liberation in that way of the individual awareness from belief in supernatural powers. Revolutionary socialist humanism, in opposition to religious pseudohumanism, makes the individual, the supreme value of socialist society, the center of the party's and state's attention and all their activity.

Since the persistence of mystical, backward ideas in some people's thinking restricts their creative progress in society, the RCP and its general secretary keep stressing the need of scientific-materialist indoctrination of the masses and promotion of an aggressive, militant attitude toward backward mystic-religious ideas and any backward attitudes at work and in life. Accordingly the party, mass and public organizations and the educational, cultural and artistic institutions are making an active and sustained educational effort to disseminate scientific knowledge of nature and society, because scientific-materialist indoctrination is an essential part of formation and development of socialist



awareness and a major aim of ideological work. This activity is not an end in itself but subordinated to revolutionary social reform, the particular tasks of building the fully developed socialist society, and implementation of the RCP Program and the decisions of the 13th Party Congress.

Romania's experience fully bears out the principle of historical and dialectical materialism that liberation of the masses from any form of enslavement or mental alienation, especially religious alienation, primarily requires liberation of society from oppression and exploitation and formation of new social relations and structures. Socialism has done away with the basic social causes of religion (exploitation, oppression, social inequality), but of course that has not eliminated all the situations and circumstances that permit mystic-religious ideas and practices to persist. Religion still influences the ethical and practical-social behavior of some people, including some youths. Of course it is due to the fact that various foreign ideas and attitudes and habits characteristic of bourgeois-landowner society still persist and that not all citizens have broken with the ideas and practices of the past. Moreover we cannot forget that all kinds of influences foreign to our revolutionary conception of the world and life are still coming in from outside Romania.

Under these circumstances the party is emphasizing the need of greater efforts by all political-educational media to indoctrinate all workers with scientific-materialist convictions based upon the results of knowledge and of the whole contemporary humanist culture. It is especially necessary to expose the diversionist, reactionary activity of some religious sects that are used as tools in the hands of the imperialist, neofascist circles trying in this way too to undermine the new order and divert the peoples' attention from the problems of the contemporary world.

In doing scientific-materialist educational work it must always be borne in mind that the controlling factor in forming socialist awareness is work. By work in the course of changing nature and society man has formed himself and constantly improved himself, rising to new heights of material and cultural progress. In their practical daily labor of changing nature and social relations, people themselves are changed and become masters of their own destinies.

By eliminating relations of exploitation and oppression, instituting new economic and social relations, and securing the workers' direct participation in social management by continually enhancing workers revolutionary democracy, Romanian socialist society is meeting all the requirements for full development of the personality, for application of the creative aptitudes and energies of all members of society, and accordingly for their permanent emancipation from mystic-religious ideas and practices.

Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out in his Report to the 13th Party Congress that during the years of socialist revolution and construction the intensive development of the productive forces and the formation and improvement of the new social and production relations led to the revolutionary structural reform of Romanian society. Great revolutionary changes have also been made in the entire Romanian people's standards of culture and awareness. Education, science and culture have been intensively developed and are playing an increasingly important part in the whole process of renovating Romania.

Against this broad background, the party's theoretical, ideological and political work has been playing a vitally important part in arming the communists and the masses with the scientific interpretation of the facts of Romanian socialist society and of current international affairs, while effectively helping to raise the masses' general level of knowledge, to enlarge their cultural horizon, and to form socialist awareness and the new man.

#### Need To Educate All Workers To Combat Backward Ideas

Proper implementation of the decisions of the 13th Party Congress and increasingly intensive development of the party's role as the leading political force of the whole nation require improved efforts to form and develop socialist awareness. As Nicolae Ceausescu said in his Report to the 13th Party Congress, this entire activity "must always be based upon the revolutionary dialectical-materialist conception and scientific socialism, the science of revolutionary world reform."

The RCP regards development of the workers' socialist awareness as a vital task and an essential factor for building the fully developed socialist society and for Romania's advance toward communism. In the RCP's view, socialist awareness has a structure and content suited to the new kind of social existence and the needs of social and individual development. It involves thorough mastery of all that is constructive in contemporary culture, science and technology as well as a profession, and arming of communists and all workers with the general truths of the revolutionary conception of the world.

Development of the masses' socialist awareness, indoctrination of the workers in the spirit of the scientific-materialist conception, enlargement of their horizon of culture and knowledge, promotion of the advanced attitude toward work and life, and firm opposition to mystic and obscurantist manifestations, any backward attitudes, and any ideas foreign to Romanian ideology are main objectives of the party, mass and public organizations and organs and of the educational, scientific, artistic and cultural institutions.

Scientific-materialist indoctrination is based on the fact that the various mystical and obscurantist manifestations interfere with understanding of the real relationships between man and nature, the laws that govern the universe, and the objective requirements of social development and with man's effort toward purposeful self-determination. Criticism of religious concepts from positions of Marxist-dialectical philosophy is not just rejection of religious aspects, elements or practices nor mere abstract denial of belief in supernatural powers. The scientific-materialist conception is deeply involved in the constructive effort to build a new culture of revolutionary socialist humanism.

In the light of the decisions of the 13th Party Congress on intensified political-ideological and cultural-educational work, the workers in scientific-materialist indoctrination are called upon to lend effective aid in strengthening the advanced, materialist convictions about the world and life, in raising the masses' general level of knowledge, in regularly fostering the philosophical, social and human values characteristic of Romanian society, and in combating backward, mystic manifestations and idealist conceptions.

Active promotion of the revolutionary conception of the world and life is vital to scientific-materialist indoctrination. As the history of knowledge has fully proved, the philosophical viewpoint is indispensable in making any overall criticism of religion because religion is not only a false, distorted, fantastic and illusory reflection of reality but also a total conception of the world and man's destiny, and as such it includes not only an epistemological aspect but also an axiological and ideological one. It promotes a certain set of values and determines particular convictions and ideals as well as attitudes and behavior.

The RCP proceeds from the premise that the process of knowing nature and society has no limits, and that there are no facts, phenomena or laws of the world's development that cannot be known. What has already been accomplished and what we learn today are the basis of a new knowledge and a new development of the theory and the conception of the world and life. The revolutionary theory is a living science, constantly developed and enriched, that synthesizes the experience of history and the conclusions from social development. As Nicolae Ceausescu points out, "That is why we must try to know and understand more and more new secrets of nature and the universe and to fathom the general laws of social development and progress, basing the whole task of socialist and communist construction in Romania upon this new knowledge."

Scientific advances and their application to production and to society in general have vital effects upon formation of the workers' scientific-materialist conception. Expansion of the horizon of knowledge and improvement of general culture and occupational and technical training on the basis of mastery of all that man has created that is more advanced are essential to the existence and progress of contemporary man. Accordingly the workers in scientific-materialist education have heavy responsibilities for reasoned and convincing explanations of the new gains in scientific knowledge and for firm and reasoned rejection of the mystic-religious ideas. As Nicolae Ceausescu said at the 13th Party Congress, "The all-around effort to improve all workers' revolutionary socialist awareness will have to be intensified, as well as that to firmly combat the various backward, obscurantist manifestations and attitudes toward work and life."

Increasingly intensive promotion of the revolutionary spirit, firm opposition to all that is old and outmoded in all sectors, including that of awareness, and consistent promotion of the new and all that is advanced in society are first requirements for the further progress of Romanian socialist society. Accordingly expression of the militant revolutionary spirit includes determined opposition to the various backward attitudes and firm rejection of the reactionary imperialist circles' efforts toward moral and intellectual pollution. The ideological and political-educational workers are called upon to use all means available to them to arm all workers with the scientific historical and dialectical-materialist conception of the world. Nicolae Ceausescu said, "Socialism and communism are the result of the masses' historical creativity, while their purposeful action is the result of knowledge and mastery of the general laws of nature and society. Therefore thorough mastery of the revolutionary conception of the world and life and of historical and dialectical materialism are indispensable to construction of the new order."



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## BRIEFS

PEOPLES COUNCILS APPOINTMENTS--On the basis of Article 97 of Law No 57/1968 on the organization and operation of the peoples councils, the President of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that Comrade Gheorghe Matei is delegated to fill the position of chairman of the executive committee of the Teleorman County Peoples Council, Comrade Veronica Cornea is delegated to fill the position of deputy chairman of the executive committee of the Teleorman County Peoples Council, and Comrade Dragomir Stan, director general of the General Directorate for Agriculture in Teleorman County, is delegated to fill the position of deputy chairman of the executive committee of the Teleorman County Peoples Council [Excerpts]  
[Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 14, 26 Mar 86 p 2] /12624

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